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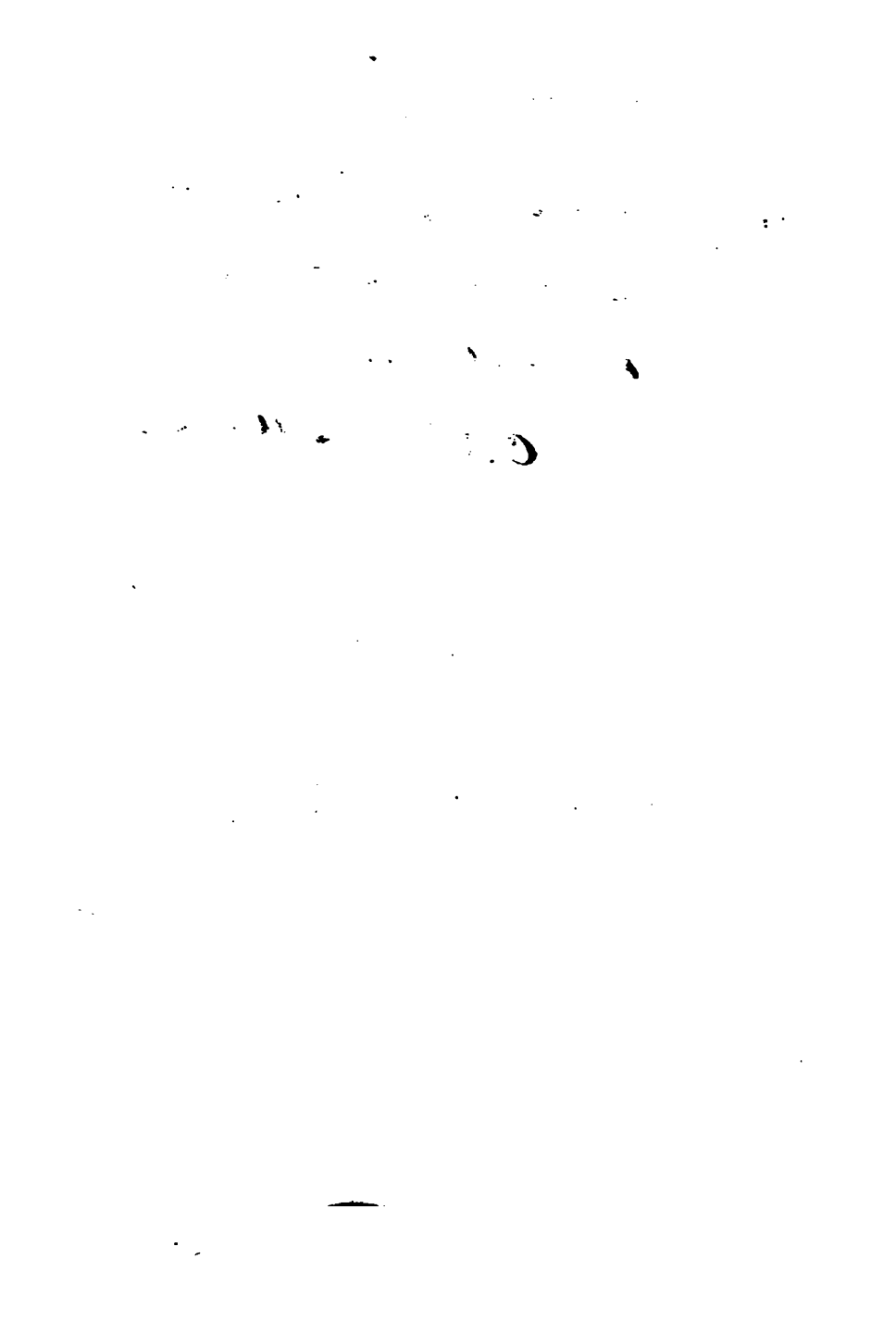
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HUMAN APTITUDES.

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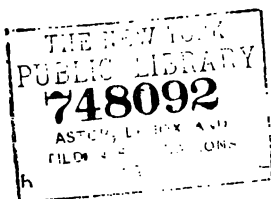
Ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτοῦ ἔντος πολιτικός ἐστι γενηγρός. — Aristotelo.

BY C. OSBORNE WARD,
Translator to the United States Department of Labor,

NATIONAL WATCHMAN COMPANY,
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RESPECTFULLY
D E D I C A T E D

TO ALL WORKING PEOPLE, AND THEIR UNIONS, WHO HAVE
THE INTELLIGENCE, THE MANHOOD AND THE WOMANHOOD
TO ACCEPT, ORGANIZE UPON, AND DILLIGENTLY BATTLE
FOR THE HITHERTO UNAPPRECIATED PRECEPT THAT
"MAN IS BY NATURE A POLITICAL BEING."

* Once. Inst. of. Civic. Serv.

PREFACE.

THE writer of these pages received his earliest and best conceptions of the subject of an economic adjustment of Human Aptitudes from a personal interview with Charles Darwin in 1868, when that gentleman was considered by many as meriting much less esteem and credit than he was actually earning for his name and for humanity. It was before his great thoughts and profound wisdom were fully known, even to himself.

The confessed object of the writer in calling on him was to acquire more knowledge of truth underlying the then little respected labor problem. Through this physicist and keen, analytical master the keys were found, to the height on which one must stand in order to perceive society as a panorama, and realize that it can progress little or no farther on competitive lines in which the self-evident theory of natural selections has been reasoned out. At that interview Mr. Darwin answered questions for light on the labor problem, by meekly declaring that

he knew nothing of human development as restricted to mind ; his whole study being based on life, both plant and animal, in its simpler and non-reasoning form. He acknowledged that when he viewed this competition, whose cruel characteristics and cudgel-urged vicissitudes forced into science the awful anathema of survival of the fittest, he studied it only as a factor in nature of simple, reasonless biologic force; and admitted that he had to gather his examples and specimens from among the clams, the ferns, the barnyard fowl.

The arising turmoils of the great, forthcoming labor movement which he clearly foresaw and encouraged us to study, were pronounced by the great savant to be entirely above his sphere and life-work. They must be solved by others. It was a symptom of the growth of quite another factor in nature than the purely competitive one which consigned him to a field of lower investigations. He saw in it the ominous foreshadowings of a new, a nobler and infinitely vaster power yet scarcely known—the power of concrete reason.

The fact is, that man from the start, has, with his reason been gradually revolutionizing the competitive system that is rooted into his society; and the stage of this sullen, ominous revolution is now far advanced. The advent of man upon the earth changed the methods of obtaining historical truths. The palæontologist finds that so long as man is not found in the geological formations it is comparatively easy to study the history of the an-

cient world by the position of the fossils remaining, every one of which went through life under purely competitive conditions. But as soon as man appears he seizes the species by force of his concrete reason, takes them from their native habitat and transplants them in new places. He confuses students by making exotic of indigenous and indigenous of exotic species. It is his power of reason which, even in such remote ages as the tertiary, had begun the social revolution still raging. Clews to the existence of prehistoric life of plants and animals are only to be had in the discovery of their remains. The most cunning of them possessed, and possess to this day, no higher form of intelligence than abstract reason. It is this wonderful concrete, alone possessed by man, that launches him out upon a new plane.

Great writers there have been; and studying them from their own points of view, we shall in these pages advance nothing against their greatness; but Adam Smith who found popularity and wealth in his musings, wrote of man only in the domain of competition with his reason abstractly and selfishly applied. He created the Manchester school already crumbling away before the inexorable rodents of failure whose toothprints are more and more visible under the newer torch of associate intelligence. Ricardo, Bastiat, Say, Hume, Levasseur and a host of others have done and are doing the same. Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier, Marx and others have seen things from a higher plane and have contemplated man and his

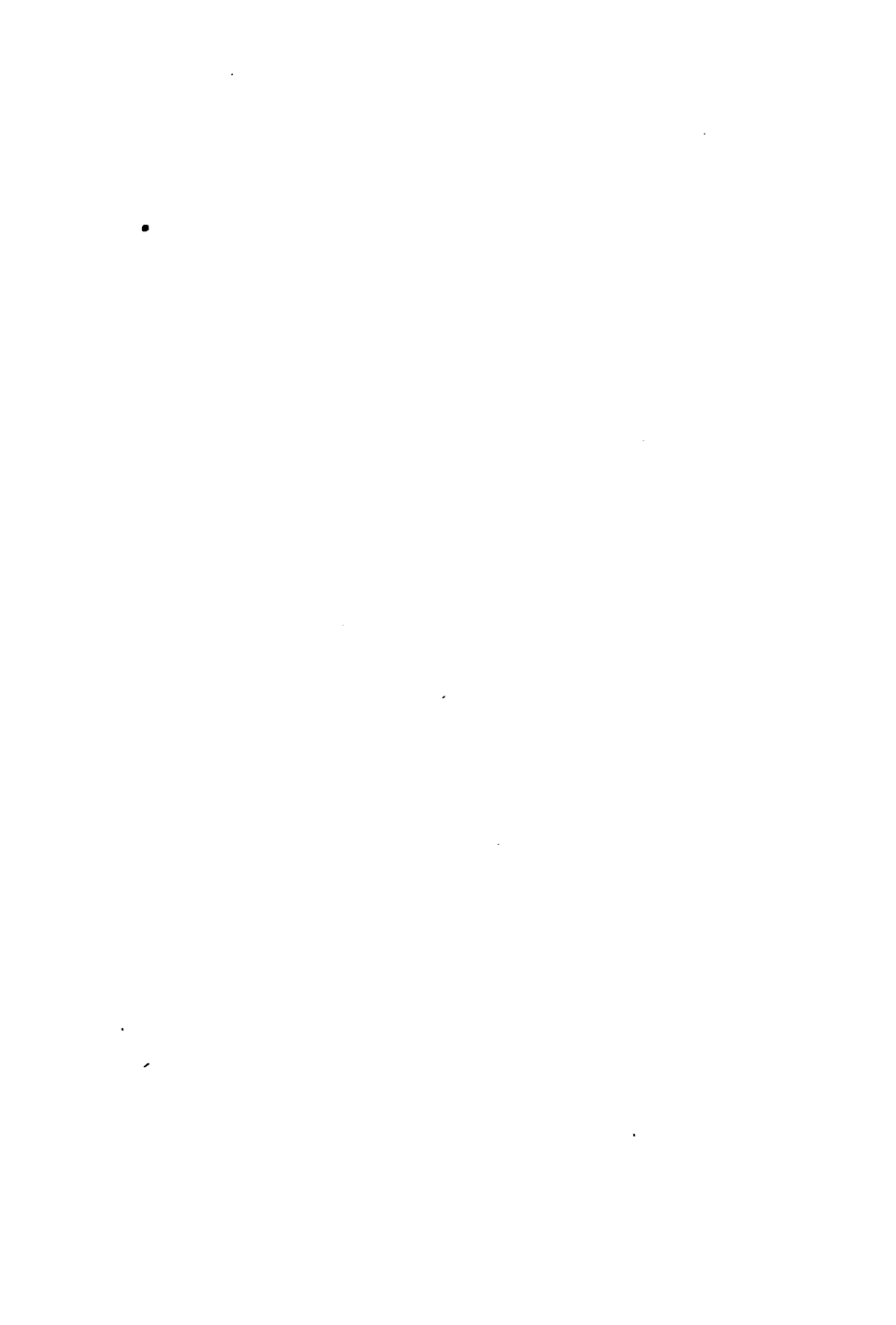
rising powers of reason, from another standpoint than that of the clawing and destructive brute and vegetable kingdoms.

They saw him as a collectivity, an individual with millions of co-operating, harmonious organs, each working fraternally for itself and the common whole. They saw his reason applying itself against the partial and time-serving selection of one from many and making him divine, because fittest, by means of his cunning or prowess, so true of the animal and of the vegetable, with at best but the abstract reasoning powers, to which the scholar wisely confined his lifework of study. We shall devote these pages to a study and explanation of the higher and nobler plane of civilization.

About the same time, another valuable interview was had with Mr. John Stuart Mill, on the same subject. This eminent thinker who, unlike Mr. Darwin, had given his life to the study of political economy, acknowledged that the competitive system was coming to an end; and he freely gave it as his opinion that manufacture and distribution would follow the co-operative idea and gradually settle into the control of governments when their citizens became intelligent and numerous enough to assume management in the common interest. He fortified this statement before he died, by writing his celebrated essay on socialism.

For man, the competitive system is already descendant and moribund. It has been attacked by reason in its

most powerful and formidable armor. The harmonies of the universe are in the ascendant. For our purposes therefore, the great naturalist's lifework—a wonderful drawing of the competitive system which holds dominion over reasonless beings—was a generation too early. That generation has now nearly elapsed; and with much hesitancy we bring it forth, humbly hoping that it may contribute toward filling the gap that yawns between Darwin and the millennium.



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CHAPTER VIII.

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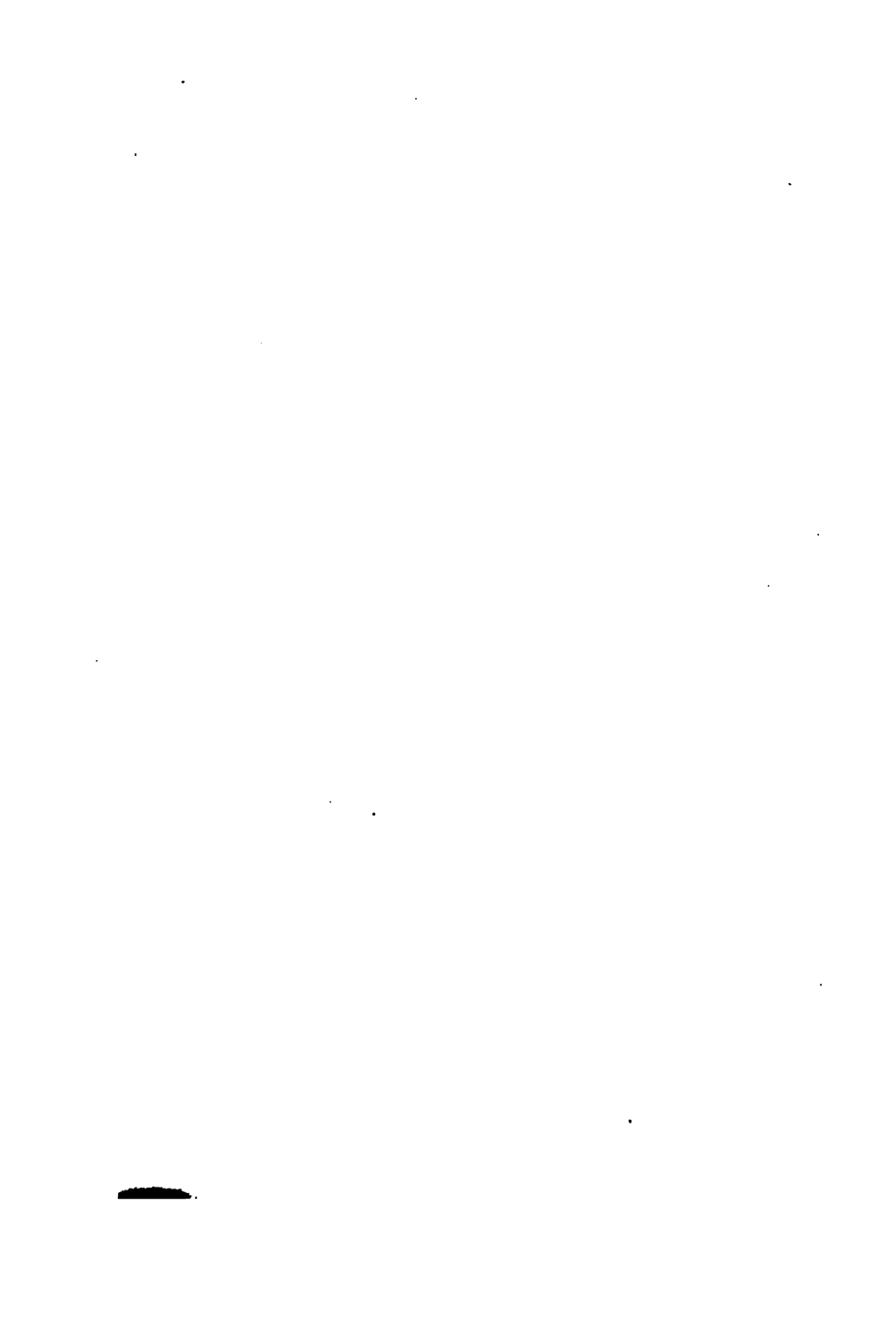
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CHAPTER I.

MECHANISM OF SOCIETY.

SOCIETY Compared with the Mechanism of the Body—It is Subject to Disease—Manner of Obtaining a Diagnosis—Comparative Number of Members Composing Each—The Judgment Stands Captain—Great Number of Members in Both—Martyrdom of Society's Doctor—With the Members of the Body there is no Property—They Work together in Communal Harmony—In Society they Conflict with Each Other—Tigerish Ferocity—Reciprocal Nature of the Functions of Both—Under Competition it is Natural that Men should Hedge Themselves About with Property—The Cure is, To make Common Ownership Safer and More Durable than Individual—Society a Living, Breathing Creature—Under Competitive Pressure it is Liable to Sicken, Languish and Die.

HUMAN beings, taken as a mass and forming an organism called society, may be compared to the mechanism of a human body. If there is weakness, contention, poverty of one part and superabundance for another, it is as much a manifestation of disease within that body as is fever, malaria, consumption or catarrh in our physical forms.

It therefore follows that when the least part of the social structure is discovered to be inharmonious or faulty it should be examined as carefully as the physician examines his patient to arrive at a diagnosis of his case.

Nor does our comparison materially vary in a numeric sense, or in the numbers of individuals of which the two structures are composed. A community, city or state may be composed of thousands or hundreds of thousands of individual parts; but if we study the anatomy of our bodies we shall likewise find them to be composed of great numbers of interdependent, though distinct organs. Physiologists, in the early development of their science, supposed these parts to be but a few hundreds at most; but as the science grows and its mysteries open, more knowledge is had of electricity, magnetic influences, mental mechanism and nerve tissue; and they see the hitherto supposed hundreds multiplying into thousands and forming a countless quantity, defying inquiry and statistical count. The parts of which our bodies are composed may be as numerous as the individuals that compose many a nation of the earth.

When this structure is in health all these organs work together in harmony. The judgment stands captain and directs the movements; or, if reason is dethroned in sleep they still work on by an involuntary force, and an equal precision as though self-impelled by an infallible guide.

In a similar manner a society or social structure of human beings, is composed of a large number of individual members, none of whom are exactly alike; and it is as necessary that there should be agreement, harmony and economy among them to preserve the structure in a sound and healthy condition as it is for the bone, nerve and muscle of the body to be sound and healthy.

It follows, therefore, that when the society of which a nation is formed is in a feverish, agitated condition; or when one of its individuals has too little for its support and another too much; when one suffers and another is reveling in enjoyment, it is certain that the natural equilibrium is disturbed. There is sickness and that body is diseased. The human body whose myriad interdependent members are as often diseased by the evils that afflict the greater social body as by any natural troubles of its own, has always had successful physicians. The social body or body politic has likewise had doctors; but the misfortune is, that their medicine has been confined to the realm of theory. Their treatment cannot be applied by one doctor alone, and for any single disease more than one doctor's lifetime is required. However skilled, his suggestions are generally theories, his labors are unpaid, his remedies discredited, his kindest solicitude held up in ridicule. Thus, while the body in flesh has enjoyed the boon of many a successful doctor, the body politic has never yet had one; and the thousands who in all ages have offered their theoretical medicine in good faith and have given away their lives for their suffering patient, have buffeted with contempt and many of them have met a martyr's fate.

Yet if we contemplate with close inspection, these two cases we shall find a remarkable similarity between them. The nervous system of the body is the intellectual system of the body politic. The osseous, or anatomic structure of one is the governmental structure of the other. The muscles are the machines and implements; the capillary circulation is the provision supply; the motions, movements, culture, are commerce, manufacture, tillage, of the body politic of mankind.

It follows from these facts that there is no such thing as property in the animal body. Each minutest factor, by an inter-mutuality, owns all the rest. Each has the full enjoyment of all others. Each, having this, knows consequently full well, that to appropriate any other part would be to rob not only the neighbor but itself likewise; since the whole structure would be dislocated by making property of this neighboring factor of the general whole. In health, the happiness and enjoyment of one depend upon the healthfulness and efficiency of the other. The multitudinous functions of the animal organism are not property. Their labor is reciprocal and their reciprocity is in proportion to their healthful efficiency in performing each, its special work, without admitting even a hypothesis of property. Property, therefore, cannot exist except in a compound or collective manner.

It is here that human society has made its fatal mistake. Its members who have been slowly developing out of the competitive struggles which govern creatures that are groveling as isolated individuals and have learned to be selfish, quarrelsome and egotistical, as well as self-dependent, have taken into society the unnatural idea of property. Nor can it be denied, studying men who are struggling in the qualms of competition that this craving for property is other than a natural concomitant of the struggle; although it is an excrescence which, like the great scab on a tree, covers and hides a hideous nest of worms that are gnawing out its vitality. The competitive or isolated system has here its greatest, and perhaps only argument. Men out in the cold, dreary spheres of self-dependency have always struggled to secure themselves from being turned out of their means of life, by possessing solid property; and have very naturally sought laws for its protection. So it must ever be until common own-

ership becomes even more solid and less precarious than individual. After that, the competitive method with its struggles must yield place to the altruistic, wherein individuals of a society, like the individual organs of our animal structure, shall labor without toil, live without struggle, develop without quarrel and survive without the curse and stain of having vanquished a victim. This is what good old Plato meant when he said: "I will never agree that the rich man, if not good, can be truly happy; it is impossible for a person pre-eminently rich to be pre-eminently happy."

Society is a living, breathing creature. It is an organism; and as such has its diseases which occasion suffering and death. It can die just as an individual dies. Its diseases are very similar to those of an individual. When the lungs of an individual begin to perish they fail to vitalize the blood which is sent up to them from the heart to be oxygenated and cleansed; and in consequence, this blood has to flow back unclean, to poison the parts it was sent forth to nourish and quicken.

CHAPTER II.

DISCORD OF FACULTIES.

Revolution in the Literature and Science of Political Economy
—Competitive System Unsuccessful—Considered in Large Numbers, Man still Refuses to Help His Brother—He is the Possessor of Concrete Reasoning Powers—Still Bartering and Trading in this Attribute—Society an Individual Being, Made of Parts, much like the Human Body—Among its Parts are Men of Aptitudes and Other Powers of Adaptation—The Inventor—What He can Make and what Becomes of Him—He is Unprotected, in the Competitive System—Another, Gifted with Powers of Management, Kills Him, Seizes His Invention, calls it His Own, and the True Inventor Dies—Law of Selections and Survival of the Fittest—The Two Specialists Should Combine their Gifts for Mutual Good—Darwin and the Great Savants Saw Only the Competitive Side—The Other Side is the still More Scientific One—It Remedies the Wrong by Adapting Man's Higher Reason to Mutual Reciprocity—Equilibration of the Aptitudes—Illustration of the Banyan Tree—Of the Tigress—Of the Boa Constrictor—All Nature Engaged in Warfare of Species Against Species—But Man, Worst of All, Even Attacks His Own Fellow Species—The Application of Truth Revolutionary—A Postulate—Competitive System in Use by Mankind is a Logical Failure.

Is SOCIETY, under the competitive system, successful?
In view of the great amount of suffering among the mass of mankind; of the strained, inquiet, discouraged as-

pect of labor; of the growing organizations, threatening, muttering, studying under a drastic discipline for resistance; in view of the none too truthless, even probable prophecies abroad that there are already upon us lowering clouds and bolts of war which may open the veins and arteries and dash out the brains of millions; and in view of the old messianic prophecy of a millennium to succeed the storm, the irrepressible conclusion is that society, as we live and breathe it, is a dismal failure.

In other words, the competitive system is a failure. Man, as a member in a competitive society, when taken as a majority, is and ever has been a failure. Man is the "house divided against itself." With all the polished arguments of political economists, he is yet in the realm of the tiger and cormorant. He refuses to rally to his brother's assistance in the hour of need. He still watches like the cat the narrow policy of cruelty. He still closes his eyes to collective manhood and panders singly to those who offer a bounty on his muscle and brain. Thus this creature whose millions make a society, is so helpless that with all his self-sufficiency he drops down into an abyss of competition, withholds the great restoratives of reason, and has to be classed among Darwin's things which exist only by natural selection, in whose wolfish maw only the fittest in prowess and cunning aptness can survive. How long man has groveled in this incongruous state is unknown except to conjecture.

Yet man, the exception among all other animals, possesses one unique quality which experience, memory, conscience and precept combine to educate. It is reason. He has had this attribute as long as we have known him; and ever since we knew him he has bartered and traded, singly and alone in it, as a stock in trade, until classes have divided his numbers; and those aptest in the use of this great attribute of reason, though few, have risen

to rule; until the manager has grasped the products of labor, driven him into poverty, and marches him, shackled, up to the gates of torment.

Society is, in reality, one being. As the individual is one being, composed of heart, bones, muscles, nerves, innumerable component parts that are harmoniously placed, each in the system where it can most economically do its work, so is society likewise one being, composed of a multitude of parts, each indispensably necessary to the great whole. Society possesses individuals with a great variety of functional parts. Among these parts we may class the aptitudes and powers of adaptation.

One person, or we may say integer—since he is a component part of an integral whole—is born with an aptitude for inspecting the subtleties of a mechanical device. He is perhaps the only one in all that group of which he is a component, who can intuitively examine, understand, co-ordinate the parts required for adjusting and setting in operation the machine. He is an inventor. He possesses an aptitude, invaluable to society because, by his rare intuition he is able to do that which will immensely profit the members in their onward course of enjoyment, plentitude and progress.

Another person, a member of the same society, and a neighbor, has no aptitude to invent but is endowed with a faculty which, under a correct method of economies, would be equally valuable and indispensable. He can calculate results. He is a manager. He knows how to take his neighbor's machine, attach it to water, steam or electric power and turn its operations into manufacture or distribution. He can make it whirl and create as results tenfold more than was before done with the same effort. He is, therefore, as useful as the inventor who knows nothing about getting profits from his invention.

Ought not these two specialists to bestow their work

harmoniously and co-operatively together? In the mechanism of the body the heart is the machine. It is supplied with power and has its function. Its business is to drive the blood through the arterial lanes and byways of the body and to force it back again, and with its powerful automatic valves, pour it into the lavatory of purification and again send it, recharged with chemicals of regeneration, sparkling through a myriad tubes, to its capillaries, where it gives nutriment and joy to a host of tissues; and they all feel the thrills of one social, co-working fraternal round of labor. Ought not society to apply its newly invented machine upon the same social plan of economies for the common welfare?

Instead of this what do we behold? The inventor a prey to the calculator! And what is worse and more disgraceful, this invaluable ingenuity becomes his victim under the law of natural selections and the so-called survival of the fittest.

Yet this truth so abhorrent at first recognition by men of conscience, is in perfect harmony and accord with nature's whole vast scheme, working under competitive conditions. Scientific men who like Darwin, know nothing, or allege that they know nothing of this new factor of concrete reason, but who build their fabric of progress in animal and vegetable life solely and unequivocally on the cold competitive law, are fortified in this doctrine which holds up a new excuse for the perpetuation of an aged, barbarous and atrocious system that captures without conscience, and with the consent of natural law, the valuable aptitudes of the inventor. In doing it they perpetuate the darlings of power in the dominion of might over right and in the divinity of kingcraft. It is done in the following manner:

The inventor, as we have said, possesses in the make-up of his nature, certain aptitudes. He is the only crea-

ture who can perceive a combination of elements which, when adjusted, form the mechanism. He alone can ponder and devise and by slow process and thankless toil, repeating tests and experiments, shape and put together its parts. It is he alone who, often under the most arduous and unappreciated conditions and too many times amid the jeers of neighbors, by the glow of an oil lamp, and pinched by poverty, can succeed in bringing the instrument to a practical success.

But this is all he can do. He has no aptitude to apply this machine to the world's commerce. Nature that gifts human beings with invaluable powers, seldom sees fit to endow them with variety. She presupposes that they have shrewdness enough to link their interests together. So she creates this other genius who knows nothing of the invention but who has a mind endowed with powers of applying it to immediate practical uses. Did this man co-operate with the inventor and peacefully share with him the products of the new-found instrument of civilization, then, there would be justice and a happy concord of faculties. The one who was gifted by nature with an aptitude for invention would be rewarded for his gift and the one whom she had endowed with an aptitude for its management would be equally repaid and honored. It would be like the heart and the arterial mechanism in the economy of a living body, wherein there can exist no strifes, no struggles; only economic co-operation—conditions of health and harmony. It would be reason under its pure, concrete power, developed into an application to social and political economy.

Does man, in his organization called society, pattern after, or follow nature's organism, the living body? Let the observer look around him and he will find that there is serious warfare between these aptitudes. Society as we have it, is working on the competitive plan wherein

each individual seeks the means of existence alone. The human mechanism, on the contrary, is based upon the purely communistic plan. In the latter a million organs, small and large, are incessantly busy at their duties, presided over and directed, if guided at all, by what men love to call the Supreme Being. No one questions the truth and accuracy of this wonderful system that brings such equal delight to the countless parts. In the other, a million or more of individuals existing similarly in community, are busy competing with each other. The inventor's newly discovered instrument is seized by the man of managing aptitudes, torn or wheedled away from him and he is left to die of a frightful starvation, while the manager with a rapacity that is appalling, applies it to production, draws thousands into his service who also struggle in poverty and prematurely die. There is no co-operative harmony, no scientific sharing of this instrument of production in the common interest, either of the inventor or society. The whole force of mind is strained to horde wealth for the manager. Under the rule of competition it is a case of natural selections. And under that rule it is the fittest only who survives. That one only, of the managerial class of aptitudes is accounted fittest. Such gross injustice and selfishness, if it existed in our corporeal mechanism, would destroy its harmony, health and life. Yet this creature is coronated as a lord of creation, being a monarch among competitive rulers.

Let him who studies this terrible subject contemplate a forest whose inhabitants, in the wild haunts of nature, are the lower animals and the plants. The great banyan which seated itself centuries ago, is seen to shoot down many sprouting branches into the ground, and these, taking root, have, with their rootlets and the dense foliage overhead, forced a complete seizure of an acre of ground. It is, in the vegetable world, a case of mono-

poly under the competitive system, where no particle of reason exists. It is pure physical force that has choked and driven to their death the former plants that flourished in that soil. The great tree survives by its powers of force and adaptation which the lesser plants did not possess. And the victory is a natural one. The tree survives because under the conditions, it is the fittest to survive.

A huge tigress comes along. Some time-worn cavity in the aged fig has been chosen for her lair. She drags thither an antelope she has captured and slain because she is the most powerful, deceptive and cunning. She brings it to her family. They thrive and grow fat and become lords of the great shadowy dome because blessed with aptitudes and powers of adaptation not possessed by the victims on which they feed. In the competitive scheme of nature they survive while the victims die, for this is the law.

Adjacent to the same jungle a serpent is seen to dart forth its long folds from a limb, and grasp an unwary hare, whose cries and writhings to escape are fruitless. It must die. The birds and the spiders, even the little grasses are busy in their competitive battles. Each is struggling to gain by force a footing upon the means of existence. In fact, nature here presents a panorama of pure warfare.

But scenes like these are not confined to the forest. All the world over this struggle of competing forms is in progress. It is true of vegetable life. It is true of animal life. But none of these creatures buffeting in the competitive world for existence possesses such a thing as society. The bees and the ants are maintained by some to be organized into something like a society, but it is an economic socialism where an unerring instinct or inspired guidance renders concrete reason unnecessary.

It follows then, that in the case of animals and plants, where no organized society exists, the competitive system is the natural one because the members have no reasoning powers with which to study out and apply that noble interacting principle existing in the corporeal organism of every living creature. We mean by this the interdependent spirit which nature has not given to a society made up of isolated individuals. Because nature neglected to diffuse in the human being the gift of altruistic instinct, but on the contrary, put the component attributes leading to the same end, into the head or seat of knowledge, instead of the soul or seat of feeling; because she gave man only a germ of concrete reason for him to develop, commanding him to first prove all things and hold fast that which is good; because she left him gifted with germs of inconceivable light which he was to unfold until it outstripped all the other gifts of power and taught him to use it in his society until he could follow her laws as she laid them down in her co-operative and harmonious plan of the corporeal mechanism; because man, in fact, has not quite learned to substitute reason for instinct and socialism for competition, he is the most ferocious of all her subjects. We see him not only buffeting with the world in a manner we have described in the cases of the banyan tree, the tigress and the serpent, but using his aptitudes and powers of adaptation to destroy even his fellow man.

Indeed, with the human being who is obliged to live in that phenomenal organization called society, where he is placed in a condition of interdependence with his fellows, unlike those physical components, the heart and a thousand subsidiary tributaries of life that work without competing, in perfect harmony of interests, we see him acting with still greater ferocity. He turns against his fellow man. The veriest brute, as a rule refuses to do this.

This brings back our original argument regarding human aptitudes and powers of adaptation. So habituated is man to the competitive life characterizing animals, and so cruel and selfish is he, that he refuses to permit of his neighbor's invention being used in common as nature uses the heart or lungs for the unselfish, equal advantage of the rest.

The doing of this would be a blow revolutionary to the competitive system. It would require all his resources of reason. It would be a stroke, new in the world, raising him instantly to the highest pinnacle of statesmanship—a place to which he has certainly never yet attained. It would place him above competition and bring him more nearly on a parallel than he ever has stood, with his maker who fixes the communal, interacting fellowship as the initial incentive which actuates the organs and pulsations of animal life.

Now this does not argue that man is not using his reason either in making or managing the machine. This great attribute is busy, but only in bolstering and perpetuating competition which is the old form forever continued. The better form is forbidden to this day though known to, and recommended by, ancient writers. Plato based his celebrated Republic upon it. Socrates clearly saw the necessity of collective enjoyment. In his Dialogue with Thrasymachus he says: "Whatever be the gain through which artists are prospered in common, it is clear that it arises from using any one thing in common among all."

Summing up, we are obliged to formulate a postulate that *the future energies of human reason must be turned to applying a new political economy, or a new system of management, whereby reason shall take the place of the jarring and warlike methods of competition.*

We submit this postulate because mankind is outgrow-

ing the competitive system. Competition may do for the creatures described. It may be good for plants and animals that pick their way through the world mostly without reason at all; a few with only an abstract intelligence which cannot foresee or co-ordinate. But man who possesses the growing gift of concrete reasoning power; who can foresee the effects of causes and can co-ordinate the objects on which his life depends, yet who refuses to accept that revolution which projects mind as the first power and places it in control of new instruments of civilization, thus letting the competitive régime of the lower orders continue while, like a selfish egotist he uses this new accomplishment to make it still more dangerous, is infinitely more to be pitied and rebuked than the reasonless millions that fall victims to the death-traps of competition.

The competitive system as a basis of political economy, of family government, of business relations between men, is to-day on the decline. We shall treat it in these chapters, as moribund. Altruism is the ascendant philosophy. Competition, through the steadfast struggles of about two thousand and five hundred years of human reason has been fought and is now being driven away by the growing revolutionists of mind. Reason has fought it by applying its manifold powers of experiment, sympathy, justice and positive knowledge; and is now growing respectable as it becomes more and more formidable with an ever increasing commonwealth of literary and forensic propaganda. Competition as an incentive to the emulatory impulses, will abide forever; but as a business factor in society it is doomed to depart.

CHAPTER III

THE PIRACY OF APTITUDS.

SOCIETY as one Man—The Primitive Belief—Philosophy of Survival—Powers of Inventive Minds—Man yet little in Advance of the Animals—Endowed with Finer Powers of Reason—Refuses to Use It—How Nature Placed Him and Gave Him His Choice—Floundering in Error a Million Years—Growing Idea of mutual Love and Care—Each has some Special Talent—Instances of Piracy of Aptitudes—Justinian and the Textile Workers—Nero—Who Really Invented Printing?—Growing Claims of Koster—Columbus an Example of true Genius—Description of His Aptitudes—He Falls a Victim—Consensus of Opinion Ought to Rally and Restore to Him the Name of the Continents He Discovered—Great Oase of Arkwright—Proof that He did not Invent Roller Spinning—Wyatt—Highs—How they were Overthrown—Quotations from Edward Baines and Whately Cooke Taylor—Court of Kings Bench Denies the Validity of Arkwright's Patent—The Invention Is Restored to Society—Philosophical Reflections on his Piracy Proving that under the Competitive System He simply Conformed to the Law—Could not be censured—Reflections on the five Personalities—More Illustrations—Dr. Harvey—Nathan Rothschild and His Speculations Based on Battle of Waterloo—Kelly, not Bessemer, the Inventor of the Converter—Proof—Inventive Aptitudes Fall Prey to the Managerial in Other Ways—Mo-

quet Carpets and Halcyon Skinner—A Case in Brooklyn—Great Case of the Telephone—No Evidence that Bell Invented It—Trial in the United States Court to Test the Validity of Bell's Patent—Scientific American Denies It and Proves Reis to have been the original Inventor 14 Years Before—Evidence—Summing up of the Various Cases—Spencer's Coming Slavery—Final Question, All Things Considered, Who Are Fittest to Survive?—Reasons Why Society Perishes and Ought to Perish—The Law of Nature Ruptured—Conditions On Which Society May Survive.

"THE ENTIRE succession of men," says Pascal, "through the whole course of ages, must be regarded as one man, always living and incessantly learning." Much farther back than that we find the keen philosopher Zeno teaching that the whole world is a living being. Strabo hints that the world is alive but cannot see that it is possessed of a soul, although with more study, growth and experience it may obtain one. Those men were thinking of a time when the inhabitants of the earth should be wise enough to throw aside their low and groveling nature and combine in a common fraternity—a launch into progress which, it was believed, would entitle political economy crumbling and moribund then as ever, to everlasting life. The Good Book informs us that the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked; and contemplating him as a consequence of his environment, the accusation seems upheld by the facts. Saint-Simon, as Carnot informs us, taught that humanity must be considered as a collective being which develops itself by successive generations, in the same manner as individual sense develops in the course of ages. Auguste Comte's "everlasting man or imperishable entity," was humanity. Long ago these thoughts were common. At the pres-

ent day, the fittest, by which we mean those under rules of reason highly refined, do not survive. It is rather under the reign of competition with its brute force, that the fittest survive. The moment men are civilized into the use of concrete reason they weaken because too tender for the rigors of a savage competitive system.

These hints are preliminarily thrown out for our chapter on the piracy of genius and aptitudes, for the purpose of impressing the reader with the fact that there has for many ages existed an opinion that there were two methods of managing human affairs: the competitive, applying to lower classes and grades under which thinkers are working out their theory of natural selections, and the altruistic wherein all members of a society, like the organs of the body, work in co-operative harmony together. In both, reason and genius exist; but under competition they are throttled by the incapacity of the latter as a system. This is distinctly in conflict with conclusions of correct reasoning and with true genius when untrammelled, offsetting and neutralizing both. Both ought to be utilized to the greatest advantage. By bringing forward many proofs of this great truth we shall show that in point of view of a pure and rational society, the fittest do not succeed at all; and that outside the domain of mere instinct-guided animals, the theory of natural selections and survival of the fittest becomes a dogma, irrational and unsound. This was admitted by Darwin. In the competitive system it is natural to crave and grasp for property. One's aptitudes become prey of others' aptitudes. One's inventions are seized. One's life-means fall the spoils of piracy and plagiarism. One's attributes of harmony become the plunder of freebooters, the spoils of war. This is because, as things now are in society, the

Love of property takes origin in fear of coming to want. Banish that fear by a powerful guaranty of labor which tyranny cannot deprive us of, and the love of personal property will gradually change into a desire for collective property. The narrow selfishness in personal property will broaden into a desire for collective ownership still more secure. It logically follows, therefore, that man, although endowed with an attribute of reason not possessed by the animals and plants, is little in advance of them and much behind the associative animals in his organization of society; since his reason has not yet been condensed into a concrete science, nor can it become so under the strictly competitive ordeal.

Many of the animals, such as the elephant, the cat, the monkey, the dog, have reasoning power in the abstract, but not in the concrete sense. This alone remains to man.

But while the human creature has an infinitely finer power of the concrete, he yet lacks the subsidiary endowment known as instinct which the lower orders possess. This instinct, defined as impulse proceeding from some mysterious source, is held by many to be "unerring;" and man is almost totally deprived of it. The inference is that nature, having endowed her noble child with a great magazine of clearly defined reason, very naturally foresaw that he would learn to use it, so that he might obey her laws and apply them scientifically to his own self-preservation and the heightening of his happiness. All that nature asks is that her law shall be obeyed; that law being the same whether it applies to man, beast, plant or any part of an organic structure. But she placed him *pel-mel* among all the other creatures of her making, amidst the rest of her struggling, quarreling

hosts, without even the semi-protective attribute of an inner instinct or unconscious guide. She put him there in the swaddling garb of a new-born reason, without either instinct or experience, without schooling or teacher or guidance, and bade him work out his society on the universal law of development; bade him struggle with his primeval germ, cultivate it, perfect it, apply it, learn how to use it in his society as he uses his organic structure in community, rather than as isolated factors, that are constantly warring like the repiles, wild beasts and grasses, for a wretched survival of the most powerful, in the competitive domain.

What wonder then, if it may have taken a million of years to develop this egotistical stripling of instinctless concrete reason, out of blubbering individualism into the perfect state or society? This question is asked from a strictly scientific standpoint, and projects our pardon for bringing forward, in this chapter, the names of persons engaged in a piracy which could only naturally occur under the competitive law where reason has developed only on the side of mutual destruction, and has not yet been able to apply itself to the vastly more beautiful methods of mutual preservation. Reasoners attempt to prove that nature cannot create outright. She only changes by imperceptible gradations. Science shows this in the evidences of the rocks, the development of the worm, the creeping growth of our social conditions. But the stubborn fact remains proven by history and by every day life that if left to itself, unhindered, the competitive principle will tear down, destroy, annihilate all things. Nothing could live under it if left unchecked and uncontrolled. And with man at its helm it is still worse than with the animals. Aided by destructive engines which fly from genius as product of concrete reason and under a com-

petitive environment, the world would sink into its own blood-pools.

But the great check of common love and mutual care has always existed, and has already become a match for this terrible monster whose tracks are abundantly found in the world's military history. The competitive system is deeply and inherently the fighting system; the communistic is as inherently the principle of peace. A history of competition is one of war; a history of mutuality one of peace.

In almost every individual there is some special talent that can be cultivated more advantageously than any others. Many of the most celebrated characters of the world have obtained their foothold leading to power by seizing on things belonging to those in humble life, and lifting themselves up by the robbery.

According to Procopius, the emperor Justinian got away from the tradesmen the silk manufacture of Byzantium, which had previously been done by the laborers who were members of the ancient unions working the state garment factories in the interest of great numbers of the people. By this he secured a complete monopoly; and this author who wrote his *Arcana* against Justinian's cruelty, characterizes that monarch as a robber of the aptitudes and powers of adaptation of others.

Still earlier, the emperor Nero killed an inventor that he might profit by his discovery; but after the man was dead and it had become too late to repent, he discovered that he had not yet learned his secret; and having no models or drafts, the invention was lost.

Who really invented printing? Was it the Chinese, twenty-five hundred years ago? Was it Gutenberg in 1450? Or was it poor Koster in 1423? Did Fust really steal Koster's type in 1440, almost on the day of the inventor's death? And did he go into partnership with

Gutenberg? There is one regrettable point which too often blots the records of genius and aptitude and that is secrecy. Evidences were covered by paltry greed that kept the invention of Janzoon Koster a secret. Like the Phœnicians who preferred to sink their tin laden ships in the ocean rather than that the secret of their tin mines and trade at the Cassiterides of Britain should become known, the true inventor of movable types almost sunk his own name, his honors and glory in a miserable time-serving secret. Nevertheless the fatherland has taken up the matter of this inventor's prerogatives; and they have a monument erected opposite the old house where first, unhonored and unappreciated, the art and the artist were born. They have likewise started up a growing literature which is making known this piracy of a great invention. It is not desired to smother our prejudices in favor of the more purely German honor, but the evidences are insurmountable that Fust, Koster's printer stole the type and outfit and went to Mentz where, twenty-seven years later, Gutenberg, like Arkwright and Bell, became the "great inventor." But we humbly venture the statement that the world is now rapidly differentiating out of its competency havoc-period, and predict that in fewer than a hundred years from the publication of these pages, the encyclopedias and other standard repositories of knowledge will be ascribing to Koster and the Chinese the honor of being the authors of the art of printing, notwithstanding the fact that Germany is bigger than Holland and that Gutenberg was a noble while Koster was an economic slave. So far as the Orient is concerned the more we know of China, the more we find that the clues in the narrative of Marco Polo were faithfully set down; and if we are to believe him we must place the origin of this invention where it belongs, in spite of our prejudices or biased education. But for Europe and the

western civilization the origin of that epoch-making invention was in little Holland, the home of so many profound scholars and mechanics of mediæval days. We leave it to the people. They alone, not those who for a time prevail in holding truth in chains, prove competent in the end to judge justly.

During the excitement caused by Columbus, of whose almost unparalleled genius and aptitudes we must not refrain from speaking, king Henry VII. sent a party to get away the plans, maps and charts shown him by his brother Bartolemao, with the intention of dispatching his own mariners in quest of the new continent. Our knowledge of this strange affair is taken from the son of Christopher Columbus himself, who wrote an enlivening account of the movements of his father; and it is well that he did so for the immortal discoverer almost never wrote. His whole lifework was bent, in a more drastic manner, in the direction of accomplishing hard-wrought facts. Here again, we find the powerful taking advantage of a flimsy pretext, to force the world into a belief that this attempted piracy was a concoction within the brain of a son of Columbus. The document stands on its own basis and ports its own record; and now, after a lapse of well-nigh 400 years it is beginning to be believed, courted and cherished as a relic of inestimable value. In the competitive order, it may be seen that as society grows, those evasive managers who nod to the beck of politeness, tolerate a "regular," or "respectable" element, always on hand, alert at overriding and browbeating genius. It was so in the case of the poet Phædrus, and later, of Byron. It was so in the case of Koster who was nothing but a poor "Dutchman;" and we may detect this doughty neutralizer and buccaneer of evasion in the case of Bartolemao Columbus who to this day is credited with having been captured by pirates on his way to king Henry,

Gutenberg? There is one regrettable point often blots the records of genius and aptitude is secrecy. Evidences were covered by palimpsests kept the invention of Janzoon Koster a secret. The Phœnicians who preferred to sink their treasures in the ocean rather than that the secret of navigation and trade at the Cassiterides of Britain should be known, the true inventor of movable type hid his own name, his honors and glory in a deep and serving secret. Nevertheless the fathoms of the matter of this inventor's prerogative should have a monument erected opposite the entrance to the first, unhonored and unappreciated, the entrance were born. They have likewise starved the literature which is making known the true inventor of this invention. It is not desired to smother the truth in favor of the more purely German legend. The evidences are insurmountable that Fust and Gensfleisch stole the type and outfit and went to the continent. Seven years later, Gutenberg, like a thief, became the "great inventor." But the statement that the world is now out of its competency havoc-period fewer than a hundred years from the pages, the encyclopedias and other sources of knowledge will be ascribing to the honor of being the authors notwithstanding the fact that the true inventor was in Holland and that Gutenberg was an economic slave. So far as the more we know of China, the more clues in the narrative of Marco Polo; and if we are to look for the origin of this invention, we shall find it in England during the reign of Edward III.

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Again, the great discoverer was insulted by a secondary adventurer who with the world's consent, be it confessed to the shame of humanity, was permitted to append his name to the two continents which Columbus had devoted his best years and exhausted his most valuable genius and abilities in discovering. The more we search the better are we convinced that Columbus found, not only the new continents, but actually visited the mainland and coursed for hundreds of leagues, on his last voyage, along the shores of Honduras and at the mouth of the Orinoco; and the trick, unearthed by research, and recently written out and exploded by Dr. Ruse and others, was but a natural outcome of the competitive system which, by applying the managerial aptitudes that enforce success, instead of the mild intuitive ones with which the discoverer was gifted and which, being unfurnished with the wily powers of craft, are weak and defenseless against competitive ambition characterizing force and success under the aged school, seized the emoluments and dragged them away from the man of true merit, as spoils of violence and falsehood.

When the sharp angles and knotted kinks of that plagiarism wear away and we become accustomed to weigh this event on the equipoise of honest evidence we shall be prepared to restore to Columbus the honors due him, by changing the name of the continents so as to assume his own.

But the most renowned and epoch-making combat of pure aptitudes the world has known, not even excepting the Bell telephone patents, took place in England during

the eighteenth century. It was the combat involved in a piracy of roller spinning.

It is fortunate for history that the evidences in this case have been so fairly preserved. It is also fortunate that it happened just before the era of combines among banded monopolies, for silence or the suppression of truth, such as too often characterizes ambitions a century later. In fact, it may here be truthfully subjoined, that it was the factory system which originated these. The judges of the bench in those times were pure, or comparatively so. This is a fact which redounds to the great credit of England; and as a consequence the decisions against Arkwright, after full trial in the court of king's bench, June, 1785, stand forever enregistered in the celebrated bluebook of the nation.

The great secret of Sir Richard Arkwright's fame and success consisted in the principle of spinning cotton, wool, hemp, flax, or other fibrous texture by means of rollers, in a rotary machine—a principle he never discovered. Hitherto it had, from the earliest ages been done by the human fingers. To find a contrivance possessing that quality was to open a revolution in manufacture that would affect mankind in all parts of the world.

The first inventor of such an instrument was, so far as has yet been proved, a certain workman of Birmingham named John Wyatt. It appears that he conceived the idea that, if a piece of loose cotton were squeezed through a pair of rollers running slowly and extended so that its fibers would enter another pair of rollers running faster, the latter pair would stretch or draw out the cotton by reason of their more rapid motion. If likewise, the distance between the rollers were sufficient to allow of an inter-stationed twisting apparatus, the piece of cotton would be symmetrically drawn out and twisted. Let it be imagined that a number of sets of rollers and twist-

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ers follow, and it will be seen that the cotton is drawn by the rollers and twisted by the intermediate spinners to a consistency of fine thread. Simple as it seems, this is all there is of the great invention which so completely revolutionized the method of textile manufacture.

To prove that Mr Wyatt was the inventor we cannot do better than quote from the bold, truthful and unchallenged history of the cotton manufacture by Mr. Edward Baines, who, without cringing to popular opinion which has been fixed through hero worship on Wyatt's robbers, proceeds to exhibit the true facts with energy as remorseless as his evidence; and he winds up his strictures with quotations and references showing the validity of Arkwright's claims to originality in this invention to have been utterly disproved. He quotes documents, official and private, some of which were never before published, and proves Arkwright to have been completely overthrown by the court of king's bench, in which the claim to the validity of his patent was tried, gleaned the points from documents that are to stand as precedents in England, since they are inscribed against him in the bluebooks. Mr. Baines says:

"The authorship of this splendid invention, like that of the art of printing, has been the subject of much doubt and controversy; and by far the greater number of writers have subscribed the honor to an individual who, though possessed of extraordinary talent and merit, was certainly not the original inventor. Sir Richard Arkwright is generally believed, even to the present day, to have invented the mode of spinning by rollers. I shall prove by a piece of evidence the most unquestionable, and which has never yet been published, that the invention was made and was the subject of a patent, thirty years before it was pretended that Arkwright had conceived it. The inventor, it is true, did not succeed in

making his own fortune, or even introducing his machine into general use; for he wanted the *primum mobile*, pecuniary means and could not hold out long enough to realize the success his genius had merited. The invention slumbered for nearly thirty years, till it was either rediscovered, or, what is more probable, till its principles came accidentally to the knowledge of Arkwright, whose keen sagacity appreciated its value and whose perseverance, talent and good fortune enabled him, by its means, to enrich himself and his country. The inventor of the mode of spinning by rollers was John Wyatt of Birmingham."

The evidence of this assertion, contradicted by all the encyclopedias and most other repositories of knowledge pretending to dispense facts to mankind on the factory system, is voluminously brought forth by Mr. Baines in a candid presentation, and he quotes Mr. Wyatt's patent verbatim as taken out in the name of one Lewis Paul under the "great seal of Great Britain," on July 20th, 1738. Mr. Baines, whose disclosure of these facts is already being mentioned by many authors, subjoins the statement that: "This document" (meaning the patent), "proves beyond all possible doubt that the mode of spinning by rollers was invented more than thirty years before Arkwright took out his patent for a similar machine, which was not till 1769. I proceed to show that the inventor was John Wyatt, and not Lewis Paul, in whose name the patent was taken out."

About thirty years after the patent was taken out in the name of this Lewis Paul, a weaver by the name of Thomas Highs, assisted by a machinist named John Kay, reproduced the same machine, or another based on the same principle. Through Mr. Highs, Arkwright obtained Wyatt's invention and we can do no better than to let another historian tell the story. We refer to Mr. Whately

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Cooke Taylor, and copy from his interesting and very valuable book entitled "An Introduction to a History of the Factory System." From the whole, Highs only improved Wyatt's invention and Arkwright robbed both of it and made his fortune, title and renown by exercising the managerial, not the inventive class of aptitudes, with which men are occasionally gifted.

Mr. Taylor says: "Now in 1769 Arkwright took out, his first patent for a new system of spinning by rollers and in 1781 and 1785 instituted legal proceedings to protect this and other patents from infringement. At both these trials Highs appeared as a witness against him, and at the latter trial, under cross-examination, declared that he had invented, two years previously, the very machine patented by Arkwright in 1769. Highs swore that he had invented the mode of spinning by rollers in the year 1767, and employed Kay to make models for him. Kay corroborated the evidence of Highs as to the invention and swore that in the latter part of the year 1767 he resided in Warrington (having left Leigh in the course of the year), and that Mr. Arkwright (who was then residing at Bolton), came to him and requested his assistance in getting some pieces of brass turned. Kay recommended some person to do it for him, but finally did it himself. On subsequent days Mr. Arkwright came again, gave him other jobs to do, and invited him to an inn where they had wine together. Some conversation then took place between them on the subject of spinning by rollers, when Kay said he thought he could make it answer. On the following morning Mr. Arkwright came to him and prevailed upon him to make a model of a machine for spinning by rollers which he did, on the principle of that which he had made under the direction of Highs, and this model Arkwright took away with him. He subsequently induced Kay to enter

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Mr. Taylor says: "Now in 1769 Arkwright took out, his first patent for a new system of spinning by rollers and in 1781 and 1785 instituted legal proceedings to protect this and other patents from infringement. At both these trials Highs appeared as a witness against him, and at the latter trial, under cross-examination, declared that he had invented, two years previously, the very machine patented by Arkwright in 1769. Highs swore that he had invented the mode of spinning by rollers in the year 1767, and employed Kay to make models for him. Kay corroborated the evidence of Highs as to the invention and swore that in the latter part of the year 1767 he resided in Warrington (having left Leigh in the course of the year), and that Mr. Arkwright (who was then residing at Bolton), came to him and requested his assistance in getting some pieces of brass turned. Kay recommended some person to do it for him, but finally did it himself. On subsequent days Mr. Arkwright came again, gave him other jobs to do, and invited him to an inn where they had wine together. Some conversation then took place between them on the subject of spinning by rollers, when Kay said he thought he could make it answer. On the following morning Mr. Arkwright came to him and prevailed upon him to make a model of a machine for spinning by rollers which he did, on the principle of that which he had made under the direction of Highs, and this model Arkwright took away with him. He subsequently induced Kay to enter

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honor of her native town, may have advocated Highs claims, and so brought down upon herself her husband's displeasure? Highs stated in evidence that after Arkwright's machinery had been some time in operation, he met him by chance in Manchester and reproaching him with having appropriated his idea without acknowledgment, Arkwright did not deny the imputation. It was ever an article of faith, too, about the neighborhood of Leigh, that Arkwright had behaved badly to his early friends. On the whole we conclude then, that it is now pretty generally allowed that Arkwright was *not* the inventor, but only the adapter of the machinery which he acquired through Kay from Highs; and which, finding almost a barren thing, he turned to such excellent account. To him belong, indeed, many honors in connection with the establishment of the modern factory system, but not this one."

But it is contrary to the spirit of our argumentation to set forth the inventor as an angel who has fallen into the grasp of devils. In our point of view one is as virtuous as the other. The aptitudes and powers of adaptation with which Sir Richard Arkwright was gifted were sublime. So far as variety of intuitive clairvoyance is concerned he was inconceivably superior to Wyatt.

Mr. Wyatt possessed solely that peculiar insight which nobody before him perhaps, had possessed, enabling him to mind-picture the movement of rollers revolving at different rates of speed so as to draw, and at the same time permit of twisting the cotton fleece. To see this, act upon it and construct the instrument, was all that Wyatt did. It was however, a mighty deed. He was a failure in other things. He could not even sell the yarn twisted by his own machines. His mind belonged to the inventive, not to the managerial class. But this one act of the inventor produced a revolution in one of the im-

portant industrial methods of mankind; and it is this act that should have made the inventor happy and prosperous through life and consigned his name to honor and immortal fame. It is of the piracy of honors and of a well-earned name that we complain; and the blame of it rests, not on an Arkwright, who proved, as a naturalist would tell us, fittest to survive. This man succeeded only by reason of the competitive environments entangling the society in which it lived. As a member of a society based on laws of competition he did his duty, though that duty was to rob his neighbors; and in obedience to that brutal law he has survived, while the repositories of history and of biography, wed to the vulture-like system, seem anxious that he should go down to futurity with laurels of an undying fame, even though they be won by an act of robbery and ingratitude. It is of this that the rising system, founded on a higher and more rational scale, complains; not of one of competition's agents, such as Arkwright truly was.

If competency, honor and a perpetuated name are the emoluments of merit—a thing which appears to be substantially true—Lord Bacon and Sir Richard Arkwright have enough to their credit, without the one claiming to be a Shakspeare and the other the inventor of roller spinning. The spectacle of Arkwright—like a Columbus in rags before the queen of Spain—so poor and needy that his friends had to contribute a shilling each, that he might appear decent while explaining his plans before gentlemen of means, is an episode to challenge the sympathy and manly feeling and pure respect of the world. The aptitude and power of adaptation; the unconquerable purpose, assiduity, rigorous business discipline with which he was gifted; the inexorable determination and unerring managing ability he was able to display; these were all rare gifts of nature, indispensable to the great life-work of the man.

We do not claim in this argument, therefore, that Mr. Arkwright was not a man of the highest order of genius. We claim, on the contrary, that he was wanted; and in fact, that he was indispensable to Wyatt, Highs and Kay in bringing out the invention of roller spinning. Had he careered thirty years earlier he might have been of equal service personally to Wyatt while living. His talent for management embraced a range of aptitudes necessary to help them all. He should have co-operated with the men he undermined, shared their anxieties, worked with them in bringing their incipient invention to perfection, shared with them the profits as well as the privations and struggles; thus making the business from the early start and all through its vicissitudes, a pleasant and encouraging mutuality. This would have been in accordance with the congruous, inter-acting law of nature.

It is enough for our argument to sum up this case by asking the student to contemplate the difference between the rational and the irrational modes of applying these gifts of nature; and although we unavoidably use forceable language it is only the better to fasten impressions upon the reader, and not to brand one or the other who may play his rôle upon the stage, as a robber though he robbed, or a victim though he fell; for our purpose is to teach in all the spirit of kindness.

We have here in these five personalities the requisite elements, or the aptitudes and powers of adaptation necessary to produce the mechanical contrivance which was to effect the greatest revolution in manufacture of any in the world, ancient or modern. It was a class of powers belonging strictly to the field of concrete reason which, in the rising political economy, should have formed, by their mutual inter-action, a society like the heart, lungs, arteries, veins and tissues, officiating in the scheme of nature's universe. If it failed to do this, then, like all else

in the competitive sway they must fall to pirating, brow-beating, destroying one another and those least selfishly shrewd must become victims to the biggest egotist and bully. In this illustration we have a Wyatt, the first of our quinquavirs, and the originator of it all, who is furnished by nature with an aptitude for intuitive conception of the initial principle and scheme; a Paul who affords him means to make of it a mechanical device; a Highs to resuscitate and improve it, and a Kay with aptitudes for modeling and imitation, coming to build patterns and perfect plans. All these are needed, preparatory to an Arkwright, whose fine and far-reaching ingenuity, likewise a gift of nature, strikes out in the direction of adapting it to human use—all forming a magnificent whole in the true scheme of an ascendant social system, such as Heaven gave man his concrete reason to develop.

It is indeed sad to see a Spencer and a Ricardo devoting their lives to the praises of that system which set these men of high qualities into a death-grapple which was to bring them all down to poverty and oblivion, except the one predatory factor, who receives the plaudits of men for pirating the others' aptitudes.

It does not follow that aptitudes which are inborn, subject more or less to the necessities urged forward by mere environment, are confined to the poor. Some men of means and opportunities possess them. Among these may be mentioned Dr. Harvey, the eminent physician under kings James and Charles, of England, who discovered the circulation of blood. The authenticity of his claim to full originality, is left for our chapter on plagiarism. Even he, with all his inherited favors was met by pirates who strove to purloin his discovery; and for a long time they succeeded in dragging down his reputation and well-nigh encompassed his ruin.

Nathan Rothschild possessed a species of intuition quite the reverse of the inventor of any mechanical device. As one of the founders of the celebrated family of financiers he may be cited for an example of the world's remarkable men. The quantity of good or bad he may have accomplished in his lifetime is scarcely to be considered a factor in this argument, because, under a better system than the purely competitive one within whose environments he careered, he would certainly have been a benefactor. His mind was gifted with a keen foresight and a penetrating vision, which, could it have been fixed upon, and applied to, improving the welfare of society rather than self and a few individuals who composed his family, he might, perhaps, have done more useful work than a thousand ordinary men, so rare is this class of aptitudes.

Nathan Rothschild's story has been told. It could go into the encyclopedias, because, unlike poor Wyatt, Hargreaves and Higgs, his powers were wholly devoted to the furtherance of the competitive system that was struggling to develop great financial schemes on which aristocratic families, banking concerns and military institutions are founded.

When Napoleon escaped from Elba to France and began organizing the army that was to confront Wellington at Waterloo, Nathan Rothshhild was observed to be intensely interested, though he kept the object of his concern a secret. The real reason for his mysterious maneuvers was, that his mind opened the pathway to a scheme of speculation worth to him a million dollars provided he should succeed in reaching London from the continent a few hours before the news of the great battle should arrive there. Making this his study and knowing exactly how, on his arrival, to proceed toward realizing his plans, he bent his efforts in that direction with

surprising energy and succeeded in being eight hours in advance of the tidings, which enabled him to manipulate the purchase or sale of stocks in those feverish times, so as to realize, by deception, misrepresentation and pure robbery, on every transaction. It was a game of dice in which he was the only better among a thousand gamblers desperately willing to throw, who knew the winning die. Even under the gamblers' code this was a crime because an infringement; but the deadly law of selection and survival knows no honor. In nude nature, the competitor who succeeds by foul means or by fair, is entitled to survive; and in purgatory there is no waxen tablet on his soul for a Rhadamanthus or an Eacus to consult before showing the wanderer on his voyage to the final judgment.

Another remarkable case of the piratical propensity of the managerial over the inventive aptitudes is that of Sir Henry Bessemer, who succeeded, if we are to believe the statements of those who have taken pains to investigate the facts, in appropriating to himself Mr. William Kelly's invention of the so-called Bessemer steel process. We quote from Appleton's *American Biography*:

"This method long known as Kelly's 'air-boiling process,' was used for the manufacture of boiler plates before Sir Henry Bessemer was known, and it is claimed by Mr. Kelly that Bessemer obtained his original knowledge of the process that bears his name, from information which was procured through English workmen in Kelly's employ."

The United States Commissioner of Patents granted Mr. Kelly his patent and rejected the application for a patent by Mr. Bessemer. Much later, "application was made at the patent office in 1871, for the renewal of the Bessemer mushet, and the Kelly patent, and the claims

of the two former were rejected while a renewal of seven years was granted to Mr. Kelly."

Still stronger evidence is found in the historian of the Bessemer steel process, Zerah Colburn, and quoted into the same cyclopedia. He admits that "The first experiments in the conversion of melted cast iron into malleable steel, by blowing air in jets through the mass in fusion, appear to have been made by William Kelly, an iron master at the Suanee furnaces, Lyon, Kentucky, U.S." The fact is, that Mr. Kelly invented the converter which was pirated by Bessemer, as early as 1847; and it has been in use for nearly half a century performing the work of decarbonizing pig iron by blowing into its molten mass powerful currents of air. Any person visiting the Cambria works at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, may take a view of the original machine made in 1847. Now as this converter is the prime contrivance and appurtenance which characterizes the great revolutionary invention on which pivoted an inconceivably enormous industry and consigned much of the old methods to decay, it follows that Kelly, not Bessemer, is entitled to the honor of the great invention. But, like most inventors, he was wanting in that peculiar managerial requisite which must always be at hand to make great thoughts successful. Although Mr. Kelly possessed much ability outside of his inventive aptitude, he failed several times, struggled with oppositions and at last died with comparatively no fortune, such as a great benefactor should be graced with, in his declining years. The fact that he was not fitted to manage what he was eminently fitted to invent, may be seen in his neglecting to secure his patents in Europe before it was too late. In the case, however, of his rival, who should have been a friend and not an adversary, we perceive exactly those requisites which the real inventor lacked—aptitudes for foreseeing a need of securing his

patents first, that he might be protected against pretenders while developing his task.

The inventive aptitudes often become slavish property of the managerial class by the latter keeping such persons in their employ, to bring out inventions which they patent in their own name, never permitting the poor genius to rise above his proletarian penury. The great firm of Alexander Smith and Company, carpet manufacturers of Yonkers, New York, weave a carpet which has been very popular and valuable called the "Moquette." They are the patentees and it is related that a certain Halcyon Skinner, who for many years worked in the factory, simply delved and drew his earnings until the invention came, then let it earn for others. The sympathy of the townspeople went out for years toward Halcyon Skinner, but the beautiful textile never took his name.

We personally know of another ingenious mechanic, who invented a cam for his employers, they being deeply involved in a litigation regarding a cam of another inventor, on which a large business depended. So soon as it was seen that the new cam was even better than the one under contention, these manufacturers threw up the lawsuit and applied this to their business, patenting it as their own. They became rich and enlarged their concern so as to occupy nearly a block in the city. But they never rewarded their benefactor, the poor machinist, who continued to delve for them on a pittance up to the time of his death.

We have, on account of the chronological order of these sketches exemplifying the piracy of aptitudes, deferred giving another instance which bids fair to yet become as celebrated as that of Sir Richard Arkwright. We mean that of the telephone. The history of this case involves the hitherto abortive attempt of the United States, to set aside the validity of the patent, on the ground that Prof. Alexander G. Bell did not invent it.

It was mentioned in the Arkwright case, that, being before the era of banded corporations, it was comparatively easy to obtain judgment against him; since the opposition or defense was only that of one man and the judges had not been corrupted by the bribes and intimidations of wealth.

This case, however of the telephone, did not arrive in the world until the invention had been thoroughly reduced to a monopoly and was netting its patentee and his company enormous profits, making it possible, as was claimed, for them to corrupt evidence; and as a consequence, that which was easy to prove and obtain through the court of king's bench in England, is utterly impossible to realize in the United States.

The keenness of the successful aptitude that ultimated in an enormous monopoly, was of a different character from that of the true inventor. When Mr. Bell applied to Prof. Henry of the Smithsonian Institution, with the statement that he could not succeed in producing articulate speech—the only requisite needed to make his telephone perfect—the professor answered that he “must get it then.” He certainly had opportunities for examining the telephone of Reis which had been invented and actually conveyed articulate speech. This instrument was on exhibition in Frankfurt, Germany, as early as 1862; whereas the Bell telephone patent was not taken out until 1876. The *Scientific American* of Nov. 28th, 1885, gives a cut of the original Reis transmitter, conserved in the Stevens Institute, and remarks that “Professor Paddock and Mr. Smith show in their testimony that ‘with the cubical box transmitter and knitting needle receiver of Reis, they transmitted one sentence containing fifty-six words.’” The same authority continues: “With the substitution of a carbon for a platinum contact piece, the Reis telephone is a practical commercial

instrument; and as Bell does not claim to have been the first to use carbon contacts in the telephone, and there is no mention of carbon in his patent nor any room for its use in the devices shown, it follows that he was not the inventor of either." In another clause are found the words: "It has been proved by professors Morton, Brackett, Young, Channing, Eaton, Paddock, Lyons, Green and many others, that the modern transmitters in common use are improvements on Reis and the natural outcome of his published inventions." This is indeed, very exalted and respectable authority and is none the less overwhelming for being cited by so celebrated and reliable a publication as the Scientific American. The German inventor, with the lofty impulses of self-disinterestedness did not think of speculating on his treasure but made of it a present to mankind.

At the great trial instituted by the United States to test the validity of Mr. Bell's patent, weighty evidence was produced showing that the Reis invention came first and that it was used to transmit articulate speech. A copy of a book entitled "Philip Reis, the inventor of the telephone," which had been written by Prof. Thomson, of the chair of experimental physics, in University college, Bristol, England, was thereupon put in evidence. It contained communications from scientific men of Reis' time who were witnesses of his labors, which the author had collected and published. It presented many sworn evidences of living men and the whole formed a powerful body of contemporary testimony. Evidence was adduced showing that Reis, as early as 1862, fourteen years before Bell's time, issued a prospectus for the commercial development of his invention; and that the German-Austrian telegraph association in that year, having tried it, declared that the instrument actually transmitted words in articulate shape. Evidence was likewise produced

that Prof. Elisha Gray, who claimed priority to Bell on improvements, filed a caveat before Bell submitted his models at the U. S. patent office and that a certain official and patent examiner revealed to him by collusion, the secret contained in the caveat. An inventor named Drawbaugh was shown to have improved the telephone, and also had suffered. Finally, affidavits from an indigent Italian named Meurcci, residing in Staten Island, were brought in evidence, showing that he had been an original—perhaps the only original—inventor of speaking telephones.

As this great case is still in the courts, and the people, already maddened at the growing dangers of monopoly, are looking on with an interest such as the mind of great masses never before concentrated on an intellectual duel, we shall leave it for the present, to the precarious fiat of hope.

Summing up the various cases of piracy of aptitudes and powers of adaptation we find that the ambitious, the covetous and the emulatory impulses are least represented in the inventive, and most highly developed in the managerial class. In nearly every instance the invention was not brought to perfection by a single person. It was generally conceived by some unknown individual and finished by others, each of whom successively brought it to the knowledge of the world, generally with meekness and humble pretensions until at last, it had sought and found the great genius who possessed the other power—that of management, whereby it was brought to the use of society. It cannot, therefore, be within the scheme of this argument to complain of the methods of a practical class of aptitudes; for where there exists no board of arbitration and conciliation, no inter-mutual fellowship, no juridical bench of equity, no co-sympathy between neighbors; in better words, where the society in

which these wrongs take place, is based on that abstract, vague and doubtful reason, little, often no better than the predatory instinct which guides the wolf and the hyena, we must logically expect that the boon of survival will be awarded to the fittest, judged as a competitor, not as a brother. We must expect that awful judgment from the standard of force, as just; since, as the mere whelp of competition, it is either reward or damnation, triumph or discomfiture, products of strifes, where reason in its emerald concrete is mangled in the remorseless jowl of power.

Looking at it from our scheme of philosophy, we behold a phenomenon of the tenacity of habit holding our greatest thinkers in its dulcet fetters. Mr. Spencer, who wrote his *Social Statics* from the rational sense of a reason in concrete, turns back later against his own logic, as he sees the forward march of the movement of the socialists, who hold as one of their tenets, that society should assume the managerial rôle, and writes his essay on the "Coming Slavery," coyly complaining that a society which admits of concrete reason as its guide, instead of the aged competitive code, can produce only the enslavement, not the enfranchisement of man. He is utterly incapable of reading the history of the past which offers, on every page to teach him that slavery was always the hideous concomitant of the competitive system he squanders his remarkable gift of reason in supporting. When the great mind of Mr. Mill opened to see the same fundamental mistake, he at once risked reputation, loss of former prestige and his wonted adulation and wrote the truthful essay which sustained a beautiful conscience to the grave. We venture a criticism of Herbert Spencer's "Coming Slavery," in the following illustration:

A has an aptitude for invention. He is gifted with a clear insight into a mechanical complication. His whole

powers of nerve, spirit, bone, muscle, are absorbed and act in unison with this gift; and he is able to use it intuitively in searching and discovering the mechanical subtleties of some yet unknown and unheard-of treasure in nature, whose usefulness when brought to light, may be so great as to prove the turning point of an epoch.

But while this man of mechanical genius is busy with his invention and the oil lamp is burning dimly in his garret, comfortless to all but his own enthusiastic soul, B, another genius, is watching him. B is a shrewd, calculating speculator. He also has an aptitude. Amid the vicissitudes of finance where many a gambler's scheme is wrecked, he can foresee the future outcome of ventures with an unerring eye. It is a choice gift. He sees the poor inventor, grasps the importance of his enterprise, makes his acquaintance and shrewdly ingratiates himself into confidence with him, even without apparently recognizing the merit of his invention. He is a monopolist. The laws have all descended to him, favoring the swoop he is planning upon this man. He is aware that this intuitive force is the only aptitude the poor, lingering, self-sacrificing inventor possesses. For his life, A could not turn his labor toward achieving a profitable living. It is not in him. If society but knew what a being of value it possessed in this poor, credulous, ingenuous inventor it would rank him before-hand, as among the benefactors of the race. But his neighbors know little and appreciate less of his worth. In fact they are in sympathy with the monopolist, not with him. The shrewd man's right to rob the inventor of his machine and to appropriate it, is complete under laws that can be misconstrued and deflected to advantage by his attorneys—aye, under the law of evolution. It is according to the law—the moral code based upon the juster methods of human reason being left out. The old law is so old that it is believed to

be time-honored. It is so respected that the author in review, who fails to grasp the power of concrete reason as a factor in the social equation, ogles at society's interference as a "coming slavery."

Darwin teaches that when the little sprigs of clover get intermixed and inter-rooted with little sprigs of grass, their rootlets of a heterogeneous nature always quarrel, each getting away and devouring the other's substance, until the weaker plant is killed. The stronger one prevails and receives its reward as the "fittest" to survive. The vanquished one must rot under the sod; for it is the law of competitive strifes. It is therefore just. So our poor man's machine is the soil that becomes the sands of strife. Having made it, but not yet established himself in its usufruct, and being yet uncertain of the wealth he is creating, he is just in that plastic state between incertitude, ridicule and recognition when he can be successfully attacked by a plausible adversary in disguise and robbed of its uses and possession. He is strong in one kind of intellectual power but weak and foolish in another. He knows but one thing, and that is his machine. It is the great competitive conflict under the law. If he dies in the struggle, the law rewards the robber and rots the victim all the same. What daring, then, to assume that socialism, derived from reason instead of cunning and force, can be applied as a new factor, molding men to work for one another! What presumption, argues the writer of "Coming Slavery," to teach that brotherhood or any other mere mind-product can be taught to adjust and harmonize these two aptitudes of the inventor and the manager so that their genius can labor for the common welfare of both! To deprive the monopolist of this immemorial right and custom under statute law, would be to reverse the statute. To take from him the right to outwit, rob, starve, murder, get quit of him, so

soon as he had completed the invention, that he may not only possess, operate and profit by it, but even enjoy the credit of having planned and made it, would be the coming slavery. To project a social management that would employ both the aptitudes of A and B, as indispensable requisites when naturally, rather than competitively applied, in order that these two classes of genius may work together for themselves and for the world, would be the ushering in of a condition of human enslavement. To organize government into a democracy or an industrial republic—a pure, equitable society, based upon science and applied to life, liberty and the acquisition of happiness—would be to assume that reason, unknown to the plants, almost unknown to man except as a means for scheming, is capable of rising one step above competitions.

Would this be creating a condition of slavery? Well, then Mr. Spencer's "Coming Slavery" may be defined to be the irrepressible, forth-coming belief that reason ought no more to be used as a battle-axe, but as a peaceful instrument for equilibrating the aptitudes of A and B. Coming slavery, then means emancipation. It is a new faith in our ability, long submerged, that there is a way out. We see symptoms of this new-found faith rising among us, teaching that our geniuses must be friends and brothers instead of cut-throats and victims, and that they must become as controllable in a nation's collective head as in an individual's egotistic head. This might subdue the egotism of monopoly but it would enlarge the altruism of worth.

The truth is, A's genius is worthless without the managing ability of B. Competitive control kills A through sheer selfishness and grabs his invention as a trophy. It thinks of nothing but self. State control fosters him as gifted with the rare merit of ingenuity. State control is

management by the collective body. It recognizes the managerial talent of B as indispensable to the success of A. The two together can do more than the two apart.

But A and B in the eyes of the state are not enough to complete the economic structure. C, another neighbor, has a faculty for adjusting and mounting the works of A. Still another, D, can operate them. E has an adaptiveness for furnishing supplies. So on to the end of the alphabet. As the head, arms, legs and trunk make a single man, so A, B, C and D make a collective man. Each singly, is an indispensable factor of the social skeleton. And a paltry skeleton it is, under our competitive division—one member robbing and the other starving! All competitive governments are grinning skeletons. It needs the activities of mutual aid, welding together human faculties, sweetening love's prone rancors, shaming away jealous egoisms. It needs an authoritative interdict through society's interference to arrest the power of B, that he may not become the innocent A's assassin. Not till then shall the ghastly skeleton take on the wholesome flesh and rounded form of true society.

"Coming Slavery" is the thin porridge our standard philosophers must eat for their death-bed gruel; for no moribund logic like that which it contains, can, in these days, turn this nervously massing reason of men, back to notions that have been outgrown.

Already, in this unchecked competition, the world is full of the works of genius, and few, scarcely any, of the real inventors or men of merit are known to have even existed. Nero killed the machinist and then forgot his trick. Newcastle shipbuilders starved poor Sauvage to death and robbed him of his screw-propeller. Nobody cares for anybody; and if working people ask for laws or for state interference to protect them, they are met by a lugubrious wail over the coming slavery.

Of these various celebrities whose struggles and vicissitudes in developing the faculties with which they were born, have raised them to wealth and honor, sunk them in penury and disappointment, or shared between them a little of both, who proved fittest to survive?

It is clear that in every case nature had bestowed upon each actor in the play, a special gift. It is clear that to career within the realm of that gift was the utmost limit of the gifted one's powers; and finally, it is plain that neither of them could have succeeded without the other. What then, is the conclusion, taking our clues from the three premises?

If more reason, that is, if reason more refined or of a purer quality, had been able to prevail within the environments of these epoch-making actors, that reason would have been concrete; whereas, under the system countenanced and upheld by their society, it was reason only in the abstract sense, scarcely a whit nobler or better than that displayed by the fox. The reason exhibited by the founders of the Rochdale co-operative stores in England, which resulted in a slow but healthy and normal spread of the mutual idea applied to business in the interests of all, was of the concrete sort, such as tends to management by the collectivity rather than by the arbitrary individual. Had each set of these geniuses been wise enough to apply the same scheme to their discovery, its development and realization, then their lifework would have been worthy the dignity of being enrolled under the order of concrete reason which never perishes, instead of the the abstract, which dies because unworthy of immortality. Looking at the whole in its broadest sense, it is no foolishness to regard society as did Spinoza and Pascal, as a living, breathing creature subject to die, or as did Plato and Zeno, endowed with a susceptibility of immortal life, when it shall learn to deserve it.

This brings us to the study of the celebrated maxim that corporations have no souls. It is true. Soul is immortal or it is nothing. (There is no soul in a reason careering in abstract paths. The individual business dies. The corporation or petty joint stock company perishes within a few generations. So a nation of men that careers on its living brightness and flourishes by an evanescent aptitude inspiring tumult and war, that feeds on force, is attacked and complained of by its own laboring people; that nation is without soul and moribund from the date of its maturity. It never can rise to the sublime realization of immortality. There have been hundreds of such nations in the world. They have all perished. A nation built upon concrete reason, such as generously consults its gifted citizens and shares with them the products of these gifts, that nation is here to remain; and it will develop with but a natural and healthy contention, and manage things with justice and skill, sharing the gain with all, on scientific principles, forever. Its gifts are the common gifts, its form, the commonwealth. This is a society with everlasting life; a reverse of corporations.

We find the ancient political economists, Zeno, Plato, Strabo, arguing these things but are ourselves so stupid, embroiled as we are in competition, that we never before could understand what they meant when they talked of the possibility of a society of undying powers. We find great and launching minds in modern centuries, such as Columbus, Wyatt, Arkwright, Kelly, Sauvage, Bessemer, Bell, Pullman, Greene in jarring contentions, robbing and pillaging on the one hand, struggling and suffering on the other, the one rising to wealth and glory, the others dropping dead, because obliged by force of circumstances which environ them, to fight for survival without aid from the society of which they are a part, all under the high gift of reason, but alas, using only its abstract form.

The renowned manufacturer of sleeping cars was, like Arkwright, always supposed to have been their inventor until the incident of the Debs strike in 1894 disclosed it in favor of one Plymon B. Greene, who, like the many victims we have mentioned, died poor, unknown and unlamented—a veritable offering to a hideous serpent in whose relentless coils he seems to have been stifled and choked to death.

When we turn our eyes to contemplate nature, her harmonious universe with its myriad parts, when we view her beautiful bestowment of mutuality and collectivism in the silent pulsation, alimentation, assimilation, circulation and cleansing systems, and study her mysterious spirit and brain functions, become acquainted with her interacting scheme, we should hasten to go back to her with our concrete reason, and on bended knee beseech her for wisdom unto everlasting life.

It is not until man acquires greater elevation than the competitive system can give him, not till he rises through the aid of interdependent effort, on a scale so vast as to embrace his numbers, and teach him how to drop competitive methods as the basis of his society, that he can rise on the smooth highways of the concrete or collective and achieve the harmonies of nature as she adjusts them in the universe. After this, society may aspire to the dignity of a soul crowned with everlasting life. Such a government may endure without end. Such a soul can never die. As it now is, genius with its aptitudes and faculties seldom survives, but perishes.

CHAPTER IV.

PLAGIARIES OF GENIUS.

How PLATO Borrowed from the Communes His Groundwork for The Renowned Republic—Patterned after A Workingmen's Labor Union—Where They Found A Concord of Faculties—Ancients Pillaging Each Other's Books—Plagiaries of Kapila and Anaxagoras—Of Abdemon—Wit Victimized by Solomon—By Pissistratus—By Cicero—By Cato—Tyro wrote Some of Cicero's Orations—Narses, a former Slave, Wins Justinian's Fame—Spirit that makes Pirates—System of semi-Plagiarism—Great Common Principle Cannot be Plagiarized—Attempt to Undermine and Eliminate a Language—Fate of Balboa, the Discoverer of the Pacific Ocean—Of Boettger, Discoverer of Porcelain—Levasseur Discovered the Circulation of the Blood; Another took the Credit—Saint-Simon—Full Account of This Remarkable Genius—His Philosophy is at Base, to Some Extent, The now Prevailing One—Modern Approval—Plagiaries Tore It Up and Appropriated the Parts—How the Labor Movement Absorbed It and Others got the Praise—His Philosophy of Differentiation of Military into Economic Methods—Post Office as an Instance—Canal-Cutting Another—Society to Furnish Employment—How Diderot was Taken Advantage of—Mozart Cheated and his Genius Appropriated—Plagiaries of Government Publications—It is not the

modest Workmen but Men of Managerial Talent that capture a Belief in their Merit—True Characteristic of Despotism—Comparative Modesty of German Office Holders—System of Monographs in England Prevents it—Glaring Egotism in Some Countries allowed to go Unrestricted—Washington's Dislike for Monopolies—His Exact Words Quoted—Nature's Great Law—Whatsoever Disobeys is Doomed to Perish.

THE FATHER of dialectics is one of the immortal few who went down with Socrates to attend a dedication of the temple of the communists at the Piræus, and there they discuss and determine the constitution of the Republic. After much crossfire, self-examination and some severity, wherein the master offends one of those in the colloquy, Socrates shows that:

“The first thing to be considered is, that we are not all born perfectly similar; each is not alike to each; but each is by nature different in disposition; one being fitted for performing one thing and another for another.”

The concord of these faculties is made the theme of the entire fourth book of the Republic. The disputants in that celebrated dialogue could not, however, find a concord of faculties under the competitive system, then exactly as now in principle, and were constrained by the logic of their dialectics to adopt the communistic system in which, after days of discussion they saw the concord and based their republic upon it, abolishing the competitive system altogether, except in its purely intellectual and emulatory sense.

In this renowned conversation, the subject of capturing each others' thoughts and of appropriating them to the uses of those most cunning and apt, was brought under contribution for Plato's plan of a commonwealth by a mutuality; and we shall use the same subject for our *chapter* on plagiaries.

That stealing each others' books wherein are recorded men's mind-products is no new thing, we have only to revert to Aristotle the great philosopher of the Lyceum, who is accused of having purloined the books and the ideas of Anaxagoras and of Kapila, the Indian savant, which he secured through the conquests of Alexander the Great. Afterwards he was himself plagiarized, and even worse; his most valuable truths were warped, confused and spoiled by the universities, that they might adapt themselves to the false tenets of a superstition. In this plight they remained until restored by Decartes, Bacon, Spinoza and Kant, of comparatively modern times.

More than six hundred years before this, Solomon appropriated as his own, the wit of a certain Tyrian youth named Abdemon, saving, if not speculating, to the value of hundreds of thousands, probably millions of dollars. There was a peculiar and lasting friendship between Jerusalem and Tyre in those days. The two kings, Solomon and Hiram, were fond of riddles and games and like the modern princes and their baccarat, mutually agreed to pay their forfeitures without murmur when beaten. But Solomon who was wise enough to know that he had no wit, had the other requisite, an aptitude for managing the wit and smartness of others; and when king Hiram sent him "riddles, sophisms and enigmatical sayings," he got the youth Abdemon, to do the work for him; and the boy did it in true Phœnician style. This, in a natural commerce of faculties, might have been legitimately traded in, without a word of comment by us, if the poor boy had been given a chance to realize in the barter; but Josephus informs us that the old Hebrew palmed off his rescuer's wit as his own. He does not mention a reward for Abdemon even to the extent of giving him the credit. Like Nero, he may have had him strangled. It is an-

other case of piracy of aptitudes in which the wisest of kings is proved a plagiarist. Solomon, though a socialist within his own tribe, became an individualist and devotee to the competitive system outside his own realm, even to the extent of prowling like a lion and feeding on the creatures that were weaker but wittier than he. He met the requirements of the law of survival by applying the virtues of reason through dynamic force.

All through antiquity the genius of slaves was used by masters and by those who borrowed it in right of ownership. Pisistratus had a slave through whose counsels he wrought his fame and built up his family. Demosthenes drew the theme and much of the language of his committed orations from an ingenious servant. Cato got much of his popularity from slaves of fine intellectual powers, away from whom he arrogantly sapped wisdom. Cicero's amanuensis, Tyro, one of the first stenographers, an eminently ingenious workingman, wrote his best oratorical performances, leaving unearned credit to grace literature and challenge the amazement of future centuries. The emperor Justinian won many of his most important military achievements through Narses, an ingenious eunuch of the servile race.

The spirit that made pirates and plagiarists in those ancient times is that which in our less simple civilization, has eventuated in monopolies and trusts. But throughout all time it never failed to assert itself the enemy of the spirit of mutual love and care. It is the spirit possessed by men engaged in the maneuvers of tacticians for corporations who pool a percentage of their dividends with which to buy wit through the temptation of bribes, salaries and retainers. It is by no means the scheme of this work to reprehend the doers of things found fault with, or to complain of the little peccadillos here noted in proof

of the rage of plagiarism and of its origin in the competitive system. The fact is, it was always considered, not only excusable, but actually virtuous; although thousands of the brightest people have fallen victims to the covetous, who surreptitiously used power and cunning to effect such robberies. When our researches, aided by time's scubbing brush, have rasped hero worship away, and strengthened us to stand up for things that are manly, we shall be qualified to count better in the statistics of wrong.

It sometimes happens that inroads are made against greater things than mere individuals—things owned and in use by masses or multitudes, such as a language—and that such instrument of free and common use is attacked by the great, in kingly garb and power. But our research shows that when such an appurtenance or vehicle of thought belongs to multitudes constituting a majority, it proves to be too strong for plagiary or invader. It is an endearment as well as a vehicle of mind-interchange and is held, owned, cherished and practiced in common. Almost every attempt to destroy a thing, habit or institution which is held in common by masses, fails, even though its assailant be backed by the edicts and the pompous trappings of universities and crowns. An attempt was made during the early middle ages to destroy the English language. Latin scholarship, combined with a numerous and powerful clergy and abetted by the intrigues of nobility, was brought to bear, with an object to suppress the growing tongue while in its infancy, but in vain. A Chaucer rose to the rescue and the Latin rival was killed so dead that even its pronunciation is forgotten. The people's institutions cannot be plagiarized, nor will they submit to foreign usurpation or allow their property which is held by them in common, to be destroyed.

Again, there are many attempts made by the ambitious, the covetous and the jealous, to rob genius and to plagiarize ambitions and powers of adaptation, which fail. If there is any reward worth having, it is that of receiving credit for the good we may have accomplished. In fact, this may be considered in many, perhaps in a majority of cases, the principal reward hoped for by the meek-minded writer or discoverer.

One of the most melancholy instances coming under this head is that of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean. He seems to have risen by his own superior honesty and merit until he made his discovery under trying circumstances, beset by creatures of the meanest nature who were actuated by a vile selfishness which caused them to toady between manhood and the king, under a detestable jealousy of prerogatives. It may be boiled down as a historical truth that Davila had this humane and worthy pathfinder beheaded from sheer jealousy of his discovery. The monster could not bear to see him live in the possession of his laurels. But in this he failed. Nearly all that now entitles Pedrarias Davila to a place in history at all, is his having committed this atrocious crime. Balboa lives; and his seat in the chair of geographical research rises higher age by age, in proportion as such gross crudities and moral excrescences wane by their recession through time's oblivious dismissal.

An instance of ingratitude and cruelty belonging to this class, whereby a finder of great values was deprived of liberty and honors without his discoveries being ascribed to others, was that of Böttgher, the kaolin man, discoverer of the materials and the process for making porcelain. Nearly the whole of his wretched life was spent in a manufactory in which, although the director

he was no better than a government slave. Yet he was the creator of that enormous industry of Europe, located at Meissen and Sèvres, where the beautiful porcelain is manufactured. Nobody but Böttgher could study, invent and finally create this important treasure. Yet he died of a broken heart and was refused a burial decent enough to become his ducal master's dog.

The curse of competition stamps all who rob men of their genius, and they may succeed where the rivals are within its precincts; but when the product of genius is common property, as a language, a discovery, a common law, or a public school, no power is strong enough to compass its suppression. But the fact, which is undenied in the scheme of these arguments, that great discoveries are *a priori*, the common property of the world and an inheritance of man, does not mitigate the wrong done to the name and credit of the discoverer. There may be a surreptitious method used by individuals, of almost entirely robbing a real discoverer, but perpetrated in such a manner that it cannot be called piracy or plagiarism though it amounts to that.

Such was the case of Levasseur who, according to Hallam, was the original discoverer of the circulation of the blood. "Levasseur," says this eminent critic, "knew all about it. He appears to have known of the circulation of the blood though the lungs, as well as the valves of the arteries and veins, and its direction and its purpose; treading closely on the anticipations of Harvey." This was about 1540, a hundred years before the discoveries of the latter, which in a previous chapter we have, and perhaps erroneously, accredited to him. The opinion of so great an authority as Hallam, whose statements, like those of Diodorus and Gibbon, are standing the test of the centuries, must be considered strong; and although

little is known, or said in the English cyclopedias, of Levasseur, the time may yet come when the renowned physician to kings Henry and Charles, shall, after all, be reduced from the station of an initial to one of a secondary and like an Arkwright, survive with the credit of only having been the adapter, not the discoverer, of his original.

A still more remarkable instance of this engrossment of great ideas by others claiming and reciving the credit of originality in the conception without liability of being accused as plagiaries, is that of Saint-Simon, the socialist. This is a pure and complete case of inborn aptitude. A short time ago this modern Socrates was an object and a name of scorn. People made ridicule of him while at the same moment they were being inspired to write his theories as their own, using him as their basis without allowing him a syllable of credit. The French for a long time have understood that Auguste Comte's Positivism is no other than Saint-Simon's System of Positive Politics, more thoroughly written out. Of late, the English and American writers are following with the same conclusions. Among these are to be mentioned Mr. John Morley, the eminent English statesman, and Dr. Richard T. Ely, late of the Johns Hopkins University—a fact which may be mentioned to show the progress of expression in radical thought in the language and among the men who have so long forbidden the entry of his pure thoughts into their proud and stubborn literature.

To the American, the most curious point in Saint-Simon's life, is his participation for years in the war of the revolution, under Gen. Washington while yet almost a boy. It is probable that he was born with the theory on which his lifework was based. It took Plato over forty years under such masters as Socrates, surrounded by such examples as the Cretans and the Spartans had

set, to finally settle down upon his great theory of a republic established on anti-competitive principles, and a gradual differentiation of a military, into an industrial order of government. Saint-Simon called this physicism; and to prove that he was inspired with this foundation principle which makes the man and begins and ends his school, we find him enthusiastically recommending its adoption in Mexico, urging that nation to cut a trans-continental ship canal to connect ocean with ocean; and to further prove his foresight, that which was in his time considered fallacious and absurd, was afterwards undertaken by one of his actual pupils, Ferdinand de Lesseps. An inspection of Saint-Simon's career discloses the fact that the Isthmus of Darien, not that of Suez, was the first great engineering project in his scheme of socialism.

As high an authority as Hippolyte Carnot who lived to see his son president of the French Republic, wrote of Saint-Simon his former teacher, that he possessed a mind very correct, and far superior to the age in which he lived. He foretold in this well-known paper written in 1831, that the name and fame of the philosopher would continue to rise in proportion to the growth of knowledge in his worth, until the Saint-Simonian school became the foundation of political economy and of social science.

The history of this Saint-Simonianism shows that it bears out Carnot's inspection, criticism and prediction; and the fact that, though one of the dissenters from him, he was impelled by his conscience to say so much, does nothing to impair that judgment. In principle it is to gradually change the forces of governments, always concentrated on the military idea, to industry rather than murder; turning that dangerous and threatening aristocracy into a means of economic supply. The sole and initial idea of militarism is destruction. It constructs

nothing except contrivances with which to destroy. If it institutes an arrangement or appurtenance for farming or preserving the products of life-means, it is only to distribute these products among the human and animal factors which constitute its force, so as to be ready to more thoroughly consummate the ordeal of death and destruction.

{ Yet the arrangement of an army when operated from the socialistic or inter-acting principle, is the most economically perfect of any known. Saint-Simon, seeing this, supposed that the same military order of power and authority could be swerved or differentiated from the idea of destruction into the three ideas of protection, distribution and production with the same economical feature of communism preserved. He lived in the days that saw the downfall of the feudal system. To some extent he participated in that awful and devastating agony. He may have studied the republic of Plato and he may have known of Aristotle's prediction regarding the future application of machinery which should substitute the labor of slaves, although his fundamental conceptions came to him when so young that this is very doubtful; and while he cannot be said to have originated the idea of applying militarism to other business—which was Plato's—it may be said that he was the first to work out the method by which destructive militarism might be differentiated into the grandest of all powers for human conservation. In Plato's time the post office, for instance, was a military institution so far as it went. So it remained, with little development, until Saint-Simon. On the breaking up of the feudal system which was done under his eye, the post office began to develop. Though we leave this subject for a more proper place under the head of "differentiation of functions," we may here interpose that it is all in accordance with the Saint-Simonian doctrine. The

swerving from the military to the laic magement of this immense business institution dates principally from the downfall of the feudal system. We mean by this that its possibilities under the social principle were never definitely manifested until that time. Should the plan be allowed to continue its ramifications, it will, under the peace policy advocated by Saint-Simon, call for a mutuality on strictly business principles, that will cause an international compact by which the carrying lines of the world, the electric and other inventions for rapid transmission, and the post offices of the world, will be under one head; the stamps and devices of various sorts will be of one exact pattern and manufactured under the amalgamated direction of one department of international service. This will economize to a minimum figure the cost of operating the largest business of the world. He was but a very young man when he began to advocate the plan of government canals to be constructed and owned by nations, or by society in common. His project of constructing one from Madrid to the sea, and one from the Atlantic to the Pacific in America, though deferred until a century later, are now the popular ones; and it was his school and his indefatigable personal toil the ungrateful world was compelled to thank for the Suez canal, whose planner and engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, was his pupil. The same pupil in his old age, undertook the great canal project across the Isthmus of Panama which would have succeeded more rapidly had it not fallen under the contaminating influence of competitors and the contract system, which Saint-Simon always denounced. It disobeyed the master's precepts and the worms fell to, and devoured it.

It was the constant teaching of Saint-Simon that society as by a national compact, should furnish employment for its own members who were characterized by him as

citizens. It was his school which in 1845 had obtained such a footing that it was able to provoke a decree to this effect. The only reason why the plan failed was that it had not been studied long enough to prevent it from falling into the competitive joint stock companies' hands. The failure was, however, needed as a lesson to future men. That plan and that lesson in the phenomena of success and failure are a burning topic of economists to-day. Even the religious postlude of the teacher's life, so vehemently ridiculed by the world, is now being seriously reconsidered. Auguste Comte's "Religion of Humanity" was a plagiarism of his teacher, Saint-Simon and he was so cruel and ungrateful toward the close of a life which produced that great work, that he would no longer mention him. The now far-reaching celebrity known as the "International" was a pure conception of this man. But whoever thinks of its originating in him?

What signalizes Saint-Simon's as the philosophy that is destined to abide, is the great fundamental truth he constantly maintains, that nothing succeeds except the political—conforming with Aristotle. This raises humanity to the upper and final estate; and this one cardinal principal overthrows Fourierism, Owenism and social or non-political co-operation and builds up the modern social democracy.

We may say that the Saint-Simonian philosophy is essentially that which all the labor organizations venturing to project a set of correct principles, have endorsed as containing truth which leads unequivocally toward society's emancipation. It may also be said to form the kernel from which sprout the greatest thoughts of modern writers, speakers and legislators; since it emboldens them to a fitness for advocating the great labor philosophy of modern times.

But who, except a little band of the traditionally faith-

ful in Paris, is there to acknowledge this master? Saint-Simon's name is still reviled, while his thoughts, his life-work and soul are still with us, teaching and pleading for humanity. Is it through some blamable ingratitude due to plagiarism that this is so? We would not accuse the world; for the seizure of his casket of jewels makes nobody rich and contributes little to an immortal name; but it is, in our humble opinion, standing as we do, afar off and contemplating this man with an unbiased regard, a species of cruelty and neglect. The only thing for this gentle, tender and long-suffering person to do is to wait in his unhonored grave until the nations shall awaken to call him great.

The labor of nearly every eminent composer or writer has been plagiarized or at least, speculated upon in a manner unworthy of a society grounded on principles of true dignity. Diderot, one of the brightest ornaments of literature, was the actual author of much that in his time was supposed to have been written by others, and ten volumes of his encyclopedia which was so bold and correct as to merit for its originator the title of father of dictionaries, was gotten out under a false name.

Mozart, who was so poor that his valuable compositions could not be handled by himself, partly on account of his neediness, was taken advantage of by mean speculators who produced them at concerts and theatres without a higher impulse than that of cheating the great genius and thus depriving him of the money he wanted and the merit he deserved. It was not until long after the poor man's death that the facts were looked up and the authorship of some of his productions was restored.

There is another class of plagiaries legalized in their depredations by immemorial usage; and their victim is generally the institution that employs them, rather than any individual. To this class, however, the German sta-

tistical and other reports, especially those most valuable, on the labor questions are notable exceptions. In many of these, the name of the official appointed as a director is not even printed in a letter of transmittal; we have often had some difficulty in finding his signature. This modesty indicates that the German statistician is a reality and not a pretense.

Another signal exception is found in English statistical publications where the law authorizes the printing of valuable monographs which, as the term implies, call for the names of the writers who, in such cases become true authors.

It is in America that these incumbents of office exhibit the most glaring egotisms. Notwithstanding the fact that, whether in Mexico, South or Central America or the United States, wherever the competitory republics exist and liberty is boasted, this liberty is glozed over with the empiricism, quackery and braggadocio of appointed officials. And notwithstanding the fact that the genius of every one of these governments is at base socialistic and not competitory—the reverse of the monarchies we mention—the appointees to office, particularly those who expect to hold their places for life, use means to foist their personality upon the public by taking advantage of government appropriations and prestige. As statistics is regarded one of the sciences, they make haste, no matter whether entitled to scholastic degrees or not, to cater to the high-sounding universities, and by attaching themselves to such adjunct subsidiaries, and acquiescing to their recommendations, they procure mention and favor which they are adroit enough to use at every possible turn and thus make appear as of brilliant importance, reports which were gotten out to tickle the institutions in power, and which are a detriment to the progress their office was established to promote. Instances exist where

sums of money are annually appropriated through machinations of legislators, and backed by the sup-
non-partisan institutions of learning holding favor
appointed directors, and worse than squandered in
ring to personal ambitions. But in every such
he aptitude which succeeds is not that of modest
and true functional ability. The faculty dominat-
e career of such incumbents is that of the cunning
yer, and his success depends altogether upon the
ty with which he can cover his personal ambition
vist the labors of his hirelings into a fictitious virtue
classic sophistry. Such a man never allows a per-
his employ who is capable of writing monographs.
jealous of genius. He wants manakins. He is a
g despot; an interpretation of unfulfilled promises.
ocures the obsequious obeisance of foreign bureaus,
ag them with politeness; and their annually pub-
plaudits and reciprocal exchanges he scraps to-
for use as recommendations of influence when the
re-appointment shall arrive. The people who are
uffering and incompetent at criticism, tolerate this
of servants; but they will not be slow to recognize
modest worth when awakened to a suspicion of
mistake.

dislike for such engrossment and monopoly as is
bed in these two last chapters is by no means a
n sentiment. It is true, however, that the hatred
narity in general and the laboring classes in par-
; now organizing against frauds, is growing more
e as they perceive the political means for their
ession; and it is due to the lifework of those who
een thus cheated that the world has learned how
dy such measures. Hildreth the historian, quotes
pression of Washington in a letter to Reed, presi-
of the assembly of Pennsylvania, about the year

1779, showing that at that time the minds of the wisest were alive to these disorders in society. "It gives me," wrote general Washington, "very sincere pleasure to find that the Assembly is so well disposed to second your endeavors in bringing those murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers, to condign punishment. It is much to be lamented that each state has not hunted them down as pests to society and the greatest enemies we have to the happiness of America. I would to God that some one of the more atrocious in each state was hung in gibbets upon a gallows five times as high as the one prepared for Haman." Although the great labor movement of more recent times is too circumspect to advocate a like punishment for monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers as well as cause-murderers, it may well reflect upon this pronounced and decisive opinion of the father of his country.

This plagiarism of aptitudes is going on as fiercely as ever at the present day. Without credit and with little pay, men and women of genius are toiling with pen and brain, elaborating and producing sermons, orations, resolutions, legislative projects and a multitude of other forms of literature for the use of others who have been appointed to high offices, but are unfit to hold them if not thus prompted and sustained by genius too often unrequited, and constrained by the need of bread, to surrender inborn powers to the ungrateful and capricious wolves of survival.

Nature's great law is one and the same, whether it applies to man, beast or organic part of any animate or inanimate thing. It applies as much to a single factor of the inventor's machine, or of the author's book, as to the heart, the soul, the muscles, nerves or blood vessels of the body; it applies to society as a whole or to society as a part. If that society prove stubborn and disobe-

dient, it is doomed to perish. The law is universal; for it applies to the siderial as well as to the planetary systems of the universe, and is as good at the subterranean depths as on the mountain tops. Let man learn to obey the law and the problem of society is solved. In all the constituents of nature's unerring scheme each part is dependent on the whole, and the whole upon the part. In nature's scheme is seen the purest form of socialism, a socialism, scientific, without anarchy, and covering not only the sympathies but the mechanism of life; not only the ethics but the more vigorous economies of subsistence. This explains why all germs that are rightly cultivated exist and flourish forever.

Animals and plants living defenseless, out in the competing, contentious world, without reason, conform better to the law than man who is the only exception where groups are commanded by the law of the universe to co-operate and form the common whole.

"Cessante ratione cessat et ipse lex."

Man is unhinged because, left with reason which he will not use, he disobeys nature and defies her laws. How he may learn to wheel into line and make of his society a harmonious part of nature's whole, will be the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

CONCORD OF FACULTIES.

THE LOWEST Classes of Most Importance—Gifts Mis-applied—Jumbling in Consequence—A Query—Lines that were Drawn of Old against Admitting Common People into Politics—The World's Mistake—Human Action always Half Socialistic and Half Competitive—Politicians Using Socialism to secure Competitive Gains—Democracy Driving Men into Communism—Justice turned into a Deadly Weapon—Misuse of Democracy tends to Teach Men its Purer Forms—The petty Society Incapable and Insufficient—Men's Distaste for petty Fraternization—They Crave for the Enlarged Political One—Naked Truth Can be had in Common—Great Value of Trades Unions—Their Growth, or Differential Tendency—Modern Trade Organizations Teaching the Referendum—Surmising a State that is Founded upon the Principles of Undying Truth—Memorable Acknowledgment of Mr. John Stuart Mill—How Human Feelings have been Sweetened by the Inter-mutual Methods in Political Economy—Remarks on the Aged and Dying Structure of Political Economy Based on Competition—Nobody Cares to Plant a Forest because it takes Twenty Years for it to Grow—It is the Natural Task of Governments—Rhythmical

Harmony between Species and Environment—The Political is the Higher and Ennobling condition—The hitherto Lowest Class now aspiring to it—Ruskin's boldly expressed Opinion of Competition—Delineating the Factors whose Faculties are to Guide the State that cannot Die—Genius is Crippled by its Environments—Mode of Co-ordinating the Various Faculties so that All will Act as One—The Plan Confronted by Spencer and Others—Future State must Throw aside the Competitive Ingredients—What the Ancient State did—Things to be learned From it—Tanks of Ceylon—Highways of the Ancient Peruvians—Haarlem Lake—Great Solidity and Endurance of Government Works—The more Gigantic their Enterprises the more Successful—Power Stored at the Niagara and Zambezi Falls may be Utilized—Government Architecture—Itineraries of Rome—Draper on Patriotism—Jefferson a State Socialist—Phenomena of the Differentiation of Functions—Origin and Development of the Post Office—Wide Range of its Work—Competing and Struggling with Life's Battles in the Remote Neolithic Ages—Consecutive Gradations Shown, down to the Present Time—Still sweltering in the Agonies of Competition which are now Refined into modern Monopolies, Corners and Trusts—Warriors Making and Using Instruments of Death not of Life—The Forth-coming Age—Militarism gradually Differentiating into Peaceful Habits—What the War Departments are—In Principle they are Socialistic—As such, they Build Roads, Bridges, Ships, Assume Education, Surveys etc.—Born to Fight and Strive, War is Outgrowing its Original Object and is Teaching Harmony without Competition—Differentiation a Moral Law of Nature—By it, Savagism Becomes Sympathy—How it can work either Upward or Downward—Why Rome Went Downward—Terrible Results to Mankind—Probable Condition of the Race now, if the Differentiation had continued Upward instead of Declining—Feudal System—Modern

Tendency Rebels against Results but loves and Perpetuates their Cause—To Complete the Downfall of War Tactics the Soldier now Refuses to Fight—Old School of Political Economists Appalled—Their Competitive Tenets Overthrown by it—The Millennium Near—Differentiation of Functions among the Prisons—Punishment Originally Motived for Vengeance and Intimidation—Now it is for Education and Reform—Instances Illustrating this Phenomenon—Ancient and Modern Jails Compared—Not the least Change from the Original Principle of Management—John Howard—No Individual has Power of Success; but Governments, having all the Individuals, unites their Powers and Succeeds—Possibility of Nationalizing Industries—Great Difference between Ancient and Modern Civil Service—Grew from Brutality into kindly Solicitude—Prison Labor now based on Mercy instead of Vengeance and Greed—Inhuman Exceptions in some States—Censure of Humanity Against It—Government Industries Enumerated—Their Universal Success—Their Remarkable Economy—Natural Craving to Work for Governments instead of Individuals or Companies—Unmistakable Drift of Railroads and Transportation Lines Toward Government Ownership—How the Individual Becomes the Collective Being in Society which brings All the Aptitudes of the Race to its own Use, as Factors of Success—Such a State Will not Perish.

WE HAVE shown in foregoing chapters, that the discord of faculties is still in full rage under the methods of the competitive system. Not a twentieth part of the classes engaged in its work of mutual destruction could, however, be mentioned. The vast mass, embracing nearly every factor of the social system was necessarily left out of the list, while only the higher or more dignified class could be noticed.

Yet the lowest forms, as men are disposed to consider them, are of as much importance as the highest; and it is these that are particularly engaged in competitive strifes. They are bound into the great web of conflicts, unable to develop out of the element in which they were born. If the inventor can only invent neither can the scavenger do other than scrub. If the manager be fit for nothing but to calculate, so is the tinker only at home among his solders and fumes. If the writer of great philosophies can only live and think and toil in his theories, so can the fisherman and the trapper do nothing but ply their nets and deadfalls and the concomitant work of their trade. All the vast space separating these higher from the erroneously supposed lower conditions is left for the reader to imagine; though it engrosses incomputable numbers who compose society. These countless elements are nevertheless indispensable, although, like the others in the play of chance, they are liable to fall victims of a few.

How shall a system be discovered and applied by which all these factors may be woven into one harmonious web so that the social fabric or body politic shall resemble, economically, the social structure of the body carnal? How shall men bring their society to a concord of aptitudes? To discover and apply a scheme that shall answer these questions will be to lift mankind out of the merely social plane and place him upon the more exalted and advantageous political one.

It is a great and fundamental truth that the political is the natural organization for man. He must rise up from the lower, and mount upon the higher terraces of organization. His society must transcend the groveling domain of competitions and enlarge and develop into the completed mutuality, swooping his entire numbers into a

purely politico-economic state. He must obey the advice of an authority who long ago foretold that "Man is by nature a political being." The history of human majorities fully substantiates the fact that the only difference between social and political organization is, that the former was always used by the low-born who could never hope to rise into political power, while the latter was formed, owned and enjoyed by the high-born who, as the word implies, constituted government.

In those days of masters and slaves this line of distinction was closely and jealously drawn. Plato says that politics is noble; paltry slaves have their social organizations. In many places he intimates that commonplace people must rise almost inconceivably before they may dare think of becoming so noble as to be political. But man has outgrown the barriers of that servile condition; he can now stand in full manhood, face to face with the political, and with impunity venture anything his interests prescribe. He can look at the situation and understand one fundamental truth concerning government, which is, that there are two distinct forms—the competitive and the inter-mutual. Governments of old were inter-mutual so far as the interests of a few governors were concerned, and competitive for the remainder. The inter-mutual is the one which yields the most wholesome fruit and never dies. We shall often designate this inter-mutuality treated in the present chapter by the term "socialism."

While the non-reasoning elements of life grovel and contend, as we have shown, never making the least progress, the reasoning elements hug the altruistic and inter-protective plan and grow upon it. One would naturally suppose that the world has made a mistake in build-

ing its institutions, one half on the competitive and the other half on the socialistic systems. All the military, with its command, its supply, its exchanges, its arsenals, garrisons, and the flotillas of its concomitant marine service, even its graveyards, are purely socialistic in principle, however malignant their outworkings. The whole judiciary of the world is socialistic. From earliest times the roads and highways, whether by land or water, have always been public property. The state itself is common to all, according to its theory as an institution. Society is a social organization and is owned by nobody in particular; it is the possession of community.

— It is indeed well that one half the world stands on a socialistic basis so firmly for mankind; for the competitive form which rages among animals and plants is so fierce that no great numbers are possible. A majority of creatures fall victims to the wild and surging elements of nature. The means of preservation are, therefore, to some extent, likewise a product of socialism; and they result from something higher than strictly competitive regulations. All that society has worth having, is more or less common in enjoyment.

Had not man centuries ago, instituted the socialistic system in legislation, in jurisprudence, in war, in government, in perpetuation of family and in a thousand other ways, the competitive system might have ended his troubles ere this, and placed him upon the list of extinct animals. It would have caused his extermination as it has probably done in the case of certain North American peoples who have disappeared. Without that mutual assistance which animals after the first few months cease to give each other, he could not have even developed his reason.

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Evidences are being discovered of a once numerous population that anciently thronged the Rocky Mountains who may have lived in remote ages coeval with the extinct mammals and saurians. They have passed away. They have left only their buildings, trinkets and bones. Central and South America show similar phenomena. The old world teems with relics of men, animals and vegetables which could not compete with the hardships of environment. None of them, not even man, it may be, possessed the delicious and race-preserving intermutuality found permeating the society of the historic, or more recent period of man. The wonderful socialistic force we have shown to have vigilantly set itself over-against the more ancient competition, and to have divided its power and crippled its dominion, and thus perpetuated man, gives us a key to the phenomena of his survival. Even as late as the Roman conquests, the human race was threatened with extinction through the terrible malignancy of the competitive system. But thanks to the germ of engrafted socialism the world was saved. When De Soto was marching through Florida, Georgia and other territory leading to the Mississippi, he found a large population of peaceful agriculturists, having a socialistic form of government. They could not hold out against the ferocious military intrusion of the whites; and they are now extinct. The same may be said of the so-called Aborigines of all the new-found continents. Their governments were a crude or savage form of the socialistic, with enough of the competitive to embrace a low militarism. They have nearly all of them succumbed to the bloodier civilization of the competitors.

It is a fact that a ruling few, mostly of the managerial class of aptitudes, have applied the socialistic principle to

the military, the legislative, the adjudicative, the educational, the postal and fire extinguishing systems, mostly for the purposes of aggrandizing themselves in the competitive idea. They have applied, and are applying a multitude of devices for the suppression of freedom, and for the extinction of all movements looking to the adoption of the whole, rather than a part of this socialistic or inter-mutual principle. They thus throw power into the hands of a ruling few who combine to build up institutions for the protection of these few, and in this manner head off the common development or growth of the entirety, thus keeping the masses in need. But a fact that must appear phenomenal to opponents of socialism is, that even this is done through the inter-mutual and not through competitive means. Thus Altruism is converted into a weapon that is drawn by the individual competitor against the social masses. By these tactics the great ungoverned, because unenlightened and unorganized majorities are constantly kept in a condition of starving dependency.

There is another fact which must not be overlooked. It is, that democracy leads to communism. Dr. George ~~Adler~~, in his History of the Early Social Political Labor Movement, says that all the more pronounced radicals who careered in Europe between the French Revolution and 1851, were originally democrats; and most of them began by opposing existing monarchical institutions. Among them were Babeuf, Darthé, Buonarotti, Antonelli, Felix Lepelletier, Julien de la Drome, Weitling, Moses Hess, Karl Grün, Marx, Engels and Born. These men considered it as a bridge leading across the cesspool of monarchy; but they all felt that it only led to a middle democracy and most of them, after a time, would have nothing more to do with it. They began by opposing every form of monarchical institution. Relinquishing all

these maiden thoughts they dove down into socialism. /It may be added that the great, radical philosophers of antiquity mostly lived under republics. This bridge leads the wanderer in search of justice, over the pool of monarchism; but it lands him, to his disappointment and disgust, in the miry ooze of the bourgeois democracy in which is nursed every species of monopoly, wage slavery and cruelty, where are congregated the trusts, combines, bank pools and the sequestered treasure of legalized highwaymen; and Diogenes has a long distance to grope and wade before he arrives at the green foothills of liberty, equality and fraternity.

- Still another important fact must now be registered. The little social organization is unequal to an adjustment of the difficulty. The equilibration of the aptitudes and powers of adaptation, in other words, the concord of faculties, cannot be obtained by any mere banding of private societies for the purpose. Although they may be very valuable to themselves, they possess elements of discord illy suited to others. They conflict with one another. They are themselves too much the organs of competitive strifes. They are not broad enough in the realm of ontologic conception. They have not the inherent faculty of general averages to supply the economical gaps. No one body, whether trade union or other, can, from its narrow, isolated scope or tenets, fill the requirements of the general body politic. No matter how perfect it be as to its own special needs in working for its membership, when it undertakes to prescribe for the vast congeries of want that is involved in humanity, it is sure to develop a total misconception of evidence which disproves its competency to so great a task. It cannot judge beyond its realm. It cannot contemplate truth except from the circumscribed range of its own petty environment. It is not common or widespread enough to judge of truth.

"Of all things" says Guizot, "that can be had in common, one is truth;" and the open and naked truth, such as will be wanted in a large community, is what no shortsighted creature has breadth of sense to penetrate. In throwing overboard the competitive system and building his state on communism, Plato went back to the alpha and omega of common sense. Like Pliny, he wrote so plainly that everybody can understand. Speaking, then, from a point of view of possibilities, the mere society or social organization cannot fill the bill. It may have the powers of self-preservation but it is envious of others. The proclivities of a trade union, the best and most enduring form of petty association, are to encourage jealousies of neighbors, and this fact is known and used with advantage by the common adversary. It may often be able to show front against the power of the capitalists it contends with, but that cunning, wily and sagacious factor of mankind, having used its wit to procure legal and military force while the fools were wrangling with stupid mulishness against political action, pounces upon the union and with arrest and arms and conspiracy laws, drives them from the earth. It is, therefore, only when the trade union betakes itself to law-making, to the political, to its manly share in socialism, that it forgets its wrangles and becomes an unconquerable brotherhood. But it is extremely doubtful whether the isolated efforts of a thousand petty associations, even after tedious centuries of study and discussion for purposes of focusing upon one form of government for man, could, without the higher type of political socialism, ever agree upon this great, final science.

The more experienced and refined civilization becomes, the stronger becomes the distaste for small corporations of every kind, and the keener becomes the predilection for the political, which means the ownership and man-

agement of property by society. It is natural that it should be so. Men cringe and shrug, with a natural abhorrence of anything in the least suggestive of the compulsory; and anything tending to involve them in compulsory fraternization is, at first impulse, received with coldness. We love liberty. We dislike to conform to rules. The straight-jacket class of brotherhoods is repulsive. People habituated to the use of a votive franchise get accustomed to a method of life, an atmosphere of activities, that is elevated from the merely social, up to the enlarged and expansive political sphere. Where such a liberty exists, the general or mixed masses feel an antipathy to petty unions. They will not adhere to co-operation, and they dislike secret societies that suggest constraint. In several of the republics where mind is broadened into the idea of freedom, instead of augmenting in numbers, these little social organizations are losing ground. They are not gaining in percentage on the population. But the purely political organization of almost all countries, especially among the laboring classes suffering under their grievances, are rapidly growing in numbers. The membership of trades and other economic unions are thus becoming political. They are doggedly opposed, as we have elsewhere shown, but are enough convinced to be intently watching the political; and in proportion to the intensity of this feeling, they are becoming careless of lesser things. Men are even demanding of their social societies the adoption of political tenets, leading them upward to the strictly political condition. Bad as this continues to be, the people demand to be led straight into its vortex.

Yet this tendency toward the political speaks no word of discouragement regarding unions of trade and unions of co-operation. These are frequently in open warfare against corporations that exploit labor; and as the cor-

porations interlink with politics and secure laws to make the workman's grievance keener, he joins a union strictly for self-preservation. He does it with much wisdom, under the law of competitions. Thus we find the practical growth of the trade union in a city like New York or London, to be fixed on the principle of competition and also that it is generally in conflict with corporations which are based on the same ground. But the growth of the trade union is toward the practical, as a means of relief from grievances.

We cannot, therefore, reflect against the labor movement for this modern differential tendency. It is a struggle of mankind upward, in the direction of a higher goal. There is great hope in the trade and other social organizations. The differentiation of political and social intercourse comes from those thrust down. It takes its source from the so-called lower classes, by which we mean, the masses or majority. They are, under a true and rational conception, the higher, not the lower class; for they originate everything. These politico-communal tendencies of British, Belgian, and of later years, even American trade unionism, explain why they are gradually arriving at a higher and more perfect government by referring any one projected action, whether a strike or an election, to a plebiscitum vote of many unions, embracing many trades. This is the purely correct method; since it is leading to the ultimate political party which shall contain no competitive elements. Thus the tendency of the trade union is in the line of expansive and normal differentiation.

These preliminary arguments prove that mankind was never accorded that which the worthy masses who perform the world's useful work, deserve. They have fully tried the methods of petty organization, but with little effect in the direction of progress. The political power which

they could not participate in, always proved superior although used to sustain competitive rule. After thousands of years during which time they greatly developed, they became powerful; but in their struggle, fell and could never again rise above the feudal system. The political plane was too high and too noble, they were falsely made to believe, and as a consequence they perished with the passing ages. If they are now rising to the true and nobler conception under which they may again assume their right as men in the political arena, it is due to the vast progress in mechanics, literature and thought which have raised them above the base and groveling method of social circumscription. They are now men and women as peers, and can go forth into the political contest in obedience to natural law.

We may now surmise a state based on theories which lead to truth. It has been shown that originally, and all the way down from high antiquity, governments were twofold in principle—one half competitive and the other socialistic—but rulers have ever used and are still using the communistic half as an arm to protect their competitive ambitions and institutions. Allowing that in earlier ages this was excusable, since the altruistic element was a development from the competitive, and only natural to the growth of our concrete reasoning powers, we come to ask ourselves whether the altruistic may, agreeably to the idea of Mill, “grow to be a majority and end in superseding the competitive system entirely.” The fact, recently discovered, that the new cult on which our modern era has developed, if it did not take its origin in, certainly was planted among, the lowly communistic organizations existing in abundance in antiquity, reaches far in the direction of solving the question as to how this was done. Seed was planted that gradually germinated a culture of thought or public opinion which previously

could never rise above the secret society. As the cult spread it encountered enormous opposition, but it nevertheless grew, sweetening the human heart in sympathetic tenderness never before existing, excepting within the very poor and uninfluential organizations. Through this means it has become possible for mankind to think of applying political influence and power for the furtherance of political economy.

We shall attempt to show how far the intermutual method can be profitably applied in political economy, and by what means this may be done so as to entirely supersede the competitive one. It would be well to state that man, in the coming political structure, is recognized as mankind. In the old and dying political structure he is recognized as an individual. To make this clearer, it may be suggested that he who gives to society which is organized into a government, recognizes that man is mankind, not an individual; and mankind is the Being to be loved, aided and honored. That person is a socialist. He subordinates self as an individual, to the masses as a collectivity. He is wise enough to know that by this he is doing that which is the very best that can be done for himself. The gradual conviction of the human family on this new school of ethics is what causes individuals who, during a lifetime have amassed wealth, to leave it, in their testament at death, to society or government, rather than to private persons or institutions. It will be argued that the rich donor sinks himself by giving his fortune to man as mankind; and that he aggrandizes himself when he bestows it upon private individuals. This is only apparent. It is a view, time-serving, temporary and short-sighted; for an endowment bestowed on an individual perishes and becomes wasted and forgotten in a few generations; whereas the bestowal of the same sum upon an institution so great and lasting as a government,

lives in the form of its bestowal upon humanity and is conserved in the nation's archives forever; while the institution thus endowed, takes the donor's name and perpetuates him in the honor and affection of mankind.

Fresh reasons for a government instead of an individual as a source of an enterprise is seen in the cultivation of a forest. The forest crop has been proved by the scientific Germans to be one of the most profitable of agricultural products; yet because no individual desires to wait twenty years, nobody will plant. The state does not perish. It lives on for centuries; and is consequently the only form of any service fit to plant and cultivate the forest.

What we are in search of in this inquiry into paths leading to a mode of government where the individual is mankind or a collective unity with a recognized common interest, is that state in which a man, woman or child, "having nothing yet possesses all things." We are in search of an improvement in the old competitive society which gave origin to governments. If improvement is incompatible with competition; if competition is found to be an incurable disease, then we are willing to see the whole mass of putrescence buried and a new and more healthful structure established in its place; for human wisdom has arrived at a stage of longing for a rhythmical harmony between species and environment; between men and their surroundings; and mind is already far enough advanced to conceive of a condition in which man is mankind, the social structure, the state and the individual, the collective whole which forms society.

The true ontologic concrete then, of man, is mankind; and it was the great Aristotle who dignified us by teaching that "man is by nature a political being." No other creature arrives at that dignified height. Therefore, so long as man remains non-political he remains low. Each

human being is an integer of society, and it is society that forms the nation. The nations are humanity. To analyze the integer is to analyze the most important factor, even the constituent of society. Each integer constitutes one of society's factors.

But these important constituent factors are divided into classes according to each one's aptitudes and powers of adaptation. One of them is a member of the managerial class of faculties. We add him to society although, as we have seen, under competitive rules, he is still disconnected from the rest; out amid the foaming billows of a tempestuous world, ready like the hawk to grasp, without restrictions whatever he may find to prolong existence. Unchecked, therefore, his gift becomes a danger and a threat.

There is the other factor with inventive faculties, who must also be added. This constituent falls prey to the manager because he exists in an environment where usefulness can be exploited. He belongs to a society that repudiates him, but has the effrontery to accept his productions—a society that is an ingrate. The meanness of such a society is chargeable to competition; and it is self-evident that no reformation is possible for it, other than the total extinction of competitive deal. We are willing to leave to Mr. John Ruskin our opinion on this subject, who writes of competition in wages:

“I have no terms in English and can find none in Greek nor Latin nor any other strong language, contemptuous enough to attach to the beastial idiotism of the modern theory that wages are to be measured by competition;”—burning words, but none the less respectable and true for being chosen by the poet laureate of England.

A large and honest class of manufacturers struggle in the same narrow environment. They are indispensable

and must be also added, but they fall victims to adverse conditions while their wares are ravenously consumed by society, thankless, unmindful and cold. The vast numbers of workmen who sell their daily energies to them are as well off as they themselves. It is their environment which aggravates them. The masters and their wage slaves are wedged in between the rocks of competitive conditions and frequently both suffer alike and all go down together, because some immense competing industry, making for society the same article, but having better means, methods and wisdom, is squeezing out their lives in competition to outdo and undersell.

A large class of washers, sweepers and scavengers is necessary, and nature has kindly supplied an abundance of them. They have a certain un-ambition and power of resignation which adapt them to their lot; and they would be fitted with contentment in it, were they not paid under the theory of competition so eloquently and forcibly anathematized by the British savant. It is not the work but their environment which damns them; and cold, contemptuous humanity, no better members than they, allow a society to perpetuate itself in painful ingratitude; and do it unblushingly, with the self-condemnatory recognition that the scavenger is as useful as the physician or the judge.

This is society as it is; and to those mentioned must be added a host of teachers, lawyers, prelates and preachers, even hunters, fishermen, sailors, and thousands too numerous to notice, all of whom must be reckoned into the great pel-mel and set at struggling, worrying, beating each other, in the gladiatorial conflict of life. Such is society under the system of competitions, boasted and extolled by political economists who hold the true philosophy in chains.

Cannot this wealth of integral factors be co-ordinated

into some system so that all may act as one? The body corporeal is composed of all these members. It has the head to represent the thinking class; nerves for the feeling class; a heart for the motive forces; the veins as washers and scavengers for the cleansing class; a capillary system for the recuperative class of supply; the arterial conduits for the provisioning class; reason for the directing and managerial class; powers of mental application for the inventive class, and thousands of obedient, happy and interdependent constituents, each an individual, yet all co-operating rhythmically together, for the sake of their own and the common good. It is nature's beautiful collectivity wherein the harmonious aggregate forms the man. It is, in fact, the new state or *ontos*, of which we are in search; and if we could apply its symphonious mutuality between species and environment to our human society, we should have that longed-for condition in which man is mankind.

Now having found the true constituents of a collective many, we naturally desire to set them at work. We are told that when the Creator had the heart, bones, channels of circulation and all other constituents of man finished, he breathed into them the breath of life, bringing them to their quick. So naturally, in building our social structure, having found the component parts, we desire to set them into action.

But we are appalled by meeting a Spencer, an Atkinson, a Levasseur, who confront us with volumes of literature that glitters and dazzles with the enchantments of public approval; an awe-inspiring church with knitted brows and an ungracious bundle of negations; a proud university in whose curriculum are negatively expounded the follies of Saint-Simon, Proudhon and Marx. They confront Socrates, Darwin, Mill, with a personality that is awe-inspiring, a prestige that is majestic, an intellect that is gigantic.

Abashed and dismayed we hesitate another decade only to add marvel to our conviction that the aged and long repudiated truth is still truth; and therefore we finally dash it down as truth, no matter what may be the grimaces of the skeletons of a system in decay.

From the foregoing method of reasoning one arrives at the conclusion that no state, or government, that is circumscribed to lines of competition, can succeed in supplying the full needs of its citizens. No half-way measures like those of a *socialism* for its jurisprudence, military, legislation, schools and post office for a certain fraction, and *competition* as a basis of its distribution, manufacture, agriculture, its university and religious functions for the other fraction, can make a satisfactory establishment which has either the power, will or honesty to treat man as mankind, and of accrediting to his aptitudes and powers of adaptation exact and equal justice as in a pair of scales. Of course, these heterogeneous elements, under conditions as we faithfully describe them, must disagree. There is no affinity in the moral or economic chemistry of competition and socialism. Oil and water refuse to mix. Does nature fill the heart or blood or lungs with puffs of selfishness? And do they shirk their work and command others to perform their tasks? Do they contract their daily business out to intermediaries that they may strut about in idleness? Are there in nature's social physics any bosses in pomp and slaves in humiliation? Not so; for she would treat such aspirants as rebels and visit upon them the punishment of death.

To become perfect, or even endurable, the state, then, must learn from physics to throw aside these competitive pretenders and assume the social ownership and management of the whole.

It has been maintained that such a state existed in early ages. But the fact that it has perished, disproves

or a perfect one unless overtaken by some catastrophe must live forever. It only existed among the proletrians, in a weak and imperfect form and never attained power or dignity. We mean by a perfect state, one in which society instead of competing individuals, owns and manages the means of life necessary for the citizens. It is the all important problem. Means of existence equitably distributed is what the world has never had; and it truly belongs to the question of economies. The very ancient state sometimes adopted the true idea in adjusting its means of economy, but this was only used and ended by an aristocracy; the masses were always left undelivered.

One can conjecture the antiquity of the great irrigation tanks or reservoirs of Ceylon, built probably by a socialistic state of the kings. We know that they have been created through the powerful energies of government. Whether they are three thousand or thirty thousand years old, many of them are yet in good condition and all their landmarks prove that no individual or private company constructed them. No age ever produced men capable of completing works of such an extent. One of these artificial lakes is twenty miles in circumference and is in full use at this day. The feed-streams are dammed by masonry hundreds of feet in thickness and the lake itself is walled in by huge structures of rock, the labor of human hands. Other irrigation-reservoirs in this island which have not been in use for memorial times, are now being brought back to the attention of the government and will speedily be made available for modern farming.

The draining of Haarlem Lake in Holland was a government undertaking, although the work was principally done under contract. Its success is entirely due to the enormous support received from the government during

a period of more than twelve years. It is properly mentioned as an enterprise surpassing the scope of the individual and upon its success depended the health, safety and supply of a populous region.

Men must have government or they will fall upon and destroy each other. There is a security attached to such an institution that soothes and satisfies because people feel a confidence in it; and this is entirely due to what fraction it contains of altruism, which creates this interdependence and mutuality nerving people to confidence.

On the discovery of America by Columbus, it was seen that enormous government works had left their imprint in Peru. Some of the best engineering designs to be found in the world are here. There are roads over and through mountain defiles which were built in ancient days; and although now four hundred years have elapsed since their discovery by Europeans, they have lost none of their beauty or strength and for all that time's power and nature's corruptions may ever work against them they might have existed for thirty thousand years. They are still in constant use. Great reservoirs for irrigation also exist there, which have cost stupendous labor; and they are still of inestimable value although constructed in a remote and unknown antiquity.

Whatever governments undertake they generally do with great perfection. The sewers of Rome begun six hundred years before Christ, are those which the modern city uses as its best. Enterprises too gigantic for individuals or joint stock companies to undertake are conducted with perfect success by governments. What governments could once do so easily they of course, can undertake again. Power of a vast amount might be manufactured at the Niagara Falls under direction of government which could be distributed from its source, by means of electric conductors, at distances near and far,

and sold to the people needing it at rates far less than steam. All feel that this would be a household necessity and comfort. The cutting of Darien or the tunneling of San Blas may yet be accomplished with the power thus generated; and the Victoria falls of the Zambezi and great numbers of similar stores of power might, with government enterprise be made to drive all the motors of the world's railroads. Even the ships on the waters may yet be thus propelled.

In many things it is for society to go back in order to go forward. No progress in the architecture of government buildings has been made since Pericles who, with Phidias, Ictinus and Callicrates, built the almost imperishable structures of Athens, under a purely socialistic arrangement, some of which are still standing after twenty-three centuries of competition's vile batterings and thievery. It is true that the tastes of humanity have differentiated out of the gloomy monasticism of pagan architecture into the more æsthetic luminousness of the renaissance, and the great plate windows are a welcomed thing of to-day; but we must step backward for massive beauty, majesty and durability, though forward for light and comfort. With this improvement we may again set government to work and thus achieve perfection. If the work is not done by society in the common interests of society, the greedy individual as usual botches his job and his work soon tumbles to decay. We now come more compactly upon the phenomena of differentiation.

No improvement has ever been made in the methods of reasoning, over those of the men twenty-three centuries ago. The dialectics of the ancient Lyceum and of the Academy have never been improved, while mathematics has made little headway. But the Lyceum, one may say, has differentiated into the public school, where

most that was taught by the founders of the true educational system is now assumed by government or by society, and government has to be called upon to do a task in education altogether too gigantic for the individual to undertake.

In public roads and waterways we must again go back for origin of system that can alone abide, in defiance of time. The great itineraries of Rome built by the government, stretched from Scotland to Asia Minor, and were a marvel of cost and durability. This vast system has struggled amid many vicissitudes; the stones and mortar as well as the science and skill in the masonry and engineering plans have been put into their reconstruction; and after ages of use and disuse they are still the work of government, which is the natural owner and manager of public works.

Solid patriotism worthy of that name, is invariably based on the wealth that is concentrated in government property; for it is all that a solid people can regard as their own and be proud of. We are told by Dr. Draper that "patriotism is the first delusion of a simpleton and the last refuge of a knave;" and the verdict is too true when it applies to a fatherland based upon competitions and made the booty of a class of aptitudes that survive by preying upon the citizen. But men can feel a virtuous patriotism who rejoice in the mutual state that builds, educates and distributes for all its citizens in common. Jefferson the American statesman was, as it appears from his writings, a determined and consistent state socialist of this kind, and among the various state concerns which he believed his government could create and manage better than individuals were great state works and a national banking system.

Continuing our survey of the phenomenal differentiation of functions, we may say that it is clearly from the

old military system that public roads developed from the paths in the forest into truckways and garrison roads, and finally into the splendid itineraries described by Gibbon; and they have long since outlived the military capacity in which they were conceived. The next step of government is that of perfecting them still more, as public works, by the absorption of railways and water lines into its ownership and control. But the military idea disappears with the progress of civilization. In the United States the government is already an owner by forfeiture of much railroad mileage; and the people are seriously demanding control and full possession of the whole system, not only for the great convenience it would afford to themselves who are its citizens and directors, but for purposes of perfecting or finishing its post office establishment. Our argument is again forcibly upheld by the enormous sums advanced by governments to companies who were incapable of constructing these roads without its aid.

If the road systems of the world are a development from the ancient militarism so is the post office also; but this is another of the business concerns which have never fallen from government control. The military roads were made partly to further the portage of army dispatches which, as we have already seen, was the original postal system. We may look at it and contemplate its growth for the last two centuries. In 1763 the secretary of the British post office reported that he had only two supernumerary clerks accorded to him by his government, by Acts of George III., 24 and 25, for the general post office—a meager comparison with the present number, and showing better than words that the older system of transmitting letters, bundles and other small packages between private individuals had always been that of private carriers. To prove that a government management does

not cripple an industry this institution may be cited as an example. It is rapidly differentiating from its old and original military grooves, and in all civilized nations is seeking and grasping at every device or contrivance, applying a multitude of inventions for facilitating its dispatch business, is becoming a national depository of the people's savings and vehicle for transmission of packages, is threatening to assume the vast business of freight, already assumes the telegraph and phone in many countries, owns and successfully operates and economizes the railroads. It is rapidly becoming the largest business in the world, is looking toward an international co-interest and amalgamation, and will soon be the true banker and safe seat of the banking world.

In the United States much progress has taken place. Up to 1845 postage of the present century was a little over six cents for thirty miles and for one hundred and fifty miles it was ten. For four hundred it was eighteen and three fourths cents and twenty-five cents for any greater distance. In that year it was lowered to five cents, under, and ten cents over, three hundred miles. In 1851 letter postage was reduced to three cents, and in 1883 it came down to two cents for any distance inside the nation's lines. Within another decade there will follow a further stroke for cheapening the means of living and comfort, in the reduction of postage to one cent; and the telegraphs and electric transmissions are soon to become government property, and are to be added to the great postal service.

Differentiation is going on every-where and by it we may trace the origin of almost all institutions of man in some high antiquity. Some respectable authors, speaking of change in the conditions of human society, have even dared to assume and to adduce proof, that a great revolution occurred at the close of the neolithic age, tend-

ing to soften human life which, as early as that, was still floundering in the billows of competitive environment and struggling to get out. This obscure and remote period prepared man for the gunpowder Age; and this was followed by the factory-system-Age during the early days of which, human conditions differentiated out of the feudal system and in squabbling to free himself from the military system which dominated them all, man now swelters in the Age of monopolies and trusts. All the foregoing were controlled by sad competitive conditions, making and using instruments of death, not life, thus employing the brain-idiocrazy of irascibility, not reason. The forthcoming Age is that of the pure socialism, scientifically guided by reason in its concrete form; and it remains for this to harmonize them all.

It is through the phenomena of differentiation that the war department becomes a builder of bridges and government buildings; of roads which become railroads; takes charge of a vast educational system; applies mathematics, mechanics and engineering; assumes the arctic explorations, coast and geodetic surveys, geological researches and other scientific enterprises, all of which are functions of peace and not of destruction.

To the process of differentiation is due the slipping by beautiful gradations in the educational system, from that of the dialecticians, sophists and mathematicians, their sciences of rhetoric, astronomy and algebra, into an immense government or public school system which not only adheres to the ancient plant for discursive reasoning, for mathematics, for mechanics, for algebra, as once taught by Protagoras, Aristotle, Euclid, Archimides and Diaphantos, but is now melted into a national education and is rapidly spreading from nation to nation with the sure destiny to "end," in the language of Mill, "in superseding the competitive system entirely." By the same sweet

and peaceful gradations, religion is differentiating from its primitive savagery of human sacrifice, priest-rule, grasping covetousness and superstition, into moral refinement and is assuming the purest tenets as well as the loftiest functions.

In proof of our proposition that differentiation is a moral law of nature and that it is intimately allied to governments, belonging to, or intermixed with, both the competitive and communistic spheres, we may adduce a few facts having a more specific bearing. Under competition it works backward; under socialism, forward.

Seven hundred years before Christ there was, among the working classes, especially those who had been emancipated from slavery, an almost complete communal form of government among the trades unions, which was sanctioned by law. The unions did not at first interfere in affairs of the nation's legislation, being content with a prosperous community government of their own, as unions. They were employed by the nation in the manufacture of dry goods, in building bridges, sewers, public edifices and implements of war. Now while this state of things was going on, the nation was differentiating, or gradually changing into better and better conditions. This was because the whole structure, not only of the national government in being the direct employer without the aid or interference of contractors, produced much peace and satisfaction among the working people, but likewise because the form of government for the unions themselves was that of an almost complete communism. As a result everything prospered during those centuries. The gradual change to the nation was in an upward direction; and so it continued until the trades unions and the various communes thus organized, having become accustomed to testing their strength and political virtue at their own internal elections, began to apply this habit

more openly to the national elections where, under a law of the state, they were allowed to vote for tribunes of the people. This caused a jealousy to spring up against them, on the part of the aristocratic element who had hitherto never suffered those workingmen to rise to the dignity of open politics. The internal conflict springing out of this, appears to have determined the aristocratic military element to resort to the great wars of conquest, by which the convulsions within, were swallowed up by the raging billows without. Yet Rome from that moment, not only ceased to develop in qualities of honor and virtue which for four hundred years had been her boast and her pride, but she began, as is admitted by Polybius, her phenomenal differentiation in a downward tendency from which she never recovered; and it is to be ascribed to this fatality which followed the overthrow of organized socialism and communal interdependence by its great enemy competition, that Rome never afterwards made any progress in morals, and that she finally sank into her hideous corruption and dissolution.

Could the course of the ancient communal power have been unremittingly preserved for ages, or we may as well say, to this day, there is little against the argument that Rome would have continued in her slow, differential state, absorbing instead of seizing outstanding nations by conquest, until she would by this time be occupying most of the territory of the earth. Instead of losing, she would have continued her powerful language; she would have developed and not lost her brave and enterprising race; and the communism which secretly brooded over and guarded the working people of that race would have broadened into state socialism, solving long since, the problems which now convulse and disperse the agonizing nations.

Even the great feudal system, a development from the

competition which caused the downfall of the socialism just described as once existing among the workingmen, underwent a differentiation. Mr. V. Denslow, the author of a book entitled *Principles of Economic Philosophy*, argues with some reason that it shows signs of gradually assuming a form of socialism, and brings Carey and Fawcett in as proof. One thing is certain, that the destruction of the feudal system by the French Revolution opened up the true schools of socialism, and every year their power is increasing.

Differentiation in the military system presents the most remarkable features. It has always been supposed by haters of war that armies are of no use; that they are absolutely pernicious; and they are loud in a just and holy disclaimer against the terrible military despotism which leaves its bloody tracks in every soil humanity has trod. But this position weakens when we study war from the idea of development. There is a singular germ in every fatality, every terror, which may be cultivated so as to produce delicious fruit; and while war has ever been a gorgon monster feeding on the impulses of ambition, inflated dignity, jealousy and vengeance, it has likewise derived its power and scienced its practice entirely on the principle of socialism. War is a state undertaking. It is, be it confessed with shame, the one monster offspring of socialism. As such it has thrived; as such it has generally overthrown the rivals who have undertaken, as isolated individuals, any usurpation of force over the state; and even when these succeeded it was but to fall back into the social system which belongs to the state to control.

But as civilization advances and the spirit becomes refined, it takes to itself a loathing for the bloody ordeal of war, while it adheres more and more closely to the non-competitive methods of state socialism from which

warfare receives its strength. It rebels against results but nourishes and loves their cause; for the initial cause of warfare is means and this is usurped by the managerial aptitudes and used for the aggrandizement of some by destroying others.

Here it is that the phenomena of differentiation appear, under an age of purity and refinement. The economic appliances, including its enormous paraphernalia of mechanical, mathematical, theoretical and strategic machinery, can be used as means of economic development from a basis of peace as well as of war. The roads and itineraries once so good for the campaign are as good for the functions of peace. The original garrison becomes a center of agricultural pursuits. Its mile-posts and relays of dispatches become post stations that develop into post offices, all retaining their original direction but forgetting the thought of purpose that may be couched in the missile conveyed; for suspicion disappears in the civilizing influence of peace. The war instincts of espionage differentiate into the signal service of the government. The aruspex and oracle become weather bureaus with their foretelling science. The torch-towers and prow-beacons become the lighthouse board; the old piratical wreckers, the life-saving service and the arsenal struggles to be the manufactory—all exactly as it should be—and they all retain their original governmental direction though they outgrow the quarrelsome incentives which the cruder ages conceived them for.

And now, under the rough and sturdy discipline of the labor movement, the soldier himself has announced his refusal to fight his fellow man, thus showing another, and unheard-of phase of the phenomena of differentiation of functions. He wants to remain in the army, but will no longer consent to committing murder. His former enemy vanishes by a differential mystery of conversion,

conviction and love; and he now beholds that enemy as a friend, always a friend, though trumped up to him by the holders of his socialism, as an enemy. Thus these holders use the vast power of his social system for cudgeling their way to self-aggrandizement. The modern soldier like the gladiator, after having mauled and murdered his friend, at the command of insolent military snobs drawing pay and authority from his socialistic system, awakens to see himself a victim of individualism. He assumes the rôle of Spartacus and rebels. The roar of that tempest which shook the Appenines approaches with every trumpet blast of the new propaganda bearing lessons of truth. And all we ask or hope for is, that the rebellious clangor of that gigantic prototype may be softened into the arbitrament of reason rather than remain in the reeking sword.

We say that under labor's rough and sturdy but disciplinary propaganda the soldier himself has announced his refusal to fight his fellow man. This is militarism's latest stroke of differentiation of functions; and the political economists of the competitive school are appalled. The taking away from them of this last prop that bolsters their bloody methods; that secures their trusts, combines and monopolies; that fortifies their right to become millionaires while their brothers swelter in want, is the foreknelling of doom, in the downfall of their competitive system. Yet the laborers from whose ranks the military power is mustered and recruited, are at last engaged in taking this action. In a great strike and uprising in Belgium the government which had been obstinately refusing, was constrained to grant the just demand of the workmen for suffrage, mostly on this account. When the lawgivers began their usual tactics of threat and intimidation, loud in their orders that the rebels should disperse, it was found that the soldiers on whom they

expected to lean in carrying out their orders, could not be depended upon—a most stunning and revolutionary manifestation. The soldier was suddenly discovered to possess a mind and powers of volition. But while these soldiers declined to quell the trouble in whose success they felt a common interest they were all very willing to be mustered as soldiers into the arsenals, the navy yards, the highways or any other socialistic works, to be cared for by their government; this is the ruling of communal logic among Belgian labor organizations. It is simply a differentiation of functions from the arbitrament of destruction to the arbitrament of peace. But no jot or tittle of change is thought of from the oldest and original method of government control. The one is the socialistic means to realize competitive ambitions, the other is the socialistic scheme to realize the mutual and communal form of life; the one is usurpation, the other natural use.

It is thus proved that differentiation in the physical nature of human affairs does not keep pace with the mental. The head has outgrown the machinery's original functions but the machinery is still good. It is all pointing to the approaching millennium.

Through the phenomena of differentiation the lowest and meanest impulses of our being become the noblest, while the mechanism of the social fabric under which they were inspired and in which they have careered and despoiled the world with pestilence, remains to all intents the same. Men born with aptitudes for being spies, detectives, moral ferrets, busybodies, calumniators, innuendo venders and scatterers of word-imbittered shadowings are, under the refining inspiration of a brighter civilization developing to fit some gap that opens to receive them. In the remodeling growth of things, much of what was formerly evil is being turned to good.

The phenomena of differentiation of functions are visi-

ble again, in the jail. Originally a military institution, the history of the prison from earliest ages is one of horrors. We may state that there was a time not entirely prehistoric when no places of detention existed; when the estimate of human life and the degree of sympathy were so low and the austerity of men in command was so soulless, that there were no places at all in which men could be detained, but they were led to execution at the moment of condemnation.

On a close study we perceive that it was greed and not mercy that finally created prisons. The ancient prison, a state concern, was a stone quarry. The government needed stone wherewith to build. Instead of smiting down their malefactors they chained them by the feet so that they could not escape and set them to work with picks, drills and prying bars, quarrying perpendicularly downward thus digging their own lapicidinum or house of detention which was originally roofless, exposing the wretched workers to sun and storm. In these excavations of their own hands they were doomed to dwell and toil; and the stone they quarried was used by the state for building palaces and other government structures. Thus prison labor is as old as historic antiquity. The terrible accounts given us by Prudentius and many other writers, of the Mamertine caves, and by Diodorus of the Syracusan grottoes, Egyptian gold mines and Sicilian ergasteria, all show that the men of old were greedy to economize the labor of their fellow man that they might profit by it.

The accusation of De Tocqueville, that intimidation and vengeance were a source of the cruelty in prisons is likewise true. All through the feudal Ages the prison remained a hideous place of torture and often of profit; and it must be said, even at the cost of many a blush of shame, that the convict captivity of these very days has

made no progress whatever in some states of the American Union where poor unfortunate prisoners are hired to contractors at the cost of their keeping and forced to delve at manufacture, railroad work, mining and other drudgery under watch of soldiers stationed at this duty by a government.

Without changing in the least from its original management and ownership, the prison has been changing in the direction of kindness within the last two centuries. The inhumanity that has permitted imprisonment for the lowly and friendless, and the follies of intimidation and vengeance, were brought to light by the lifework of John Howard, during the middle of the eighteenth century. The seeds of morality planted by this man have grown almost beyond our powers of comprehension. They are growing still. The labor movement which is now by far the most important subject of consideration in the world is building upon this socialism, arraying itself against both the military and the contract systems which prevail in prisons. But outside of this, philanthropists are busy in the study of means for mitigating the sufferings of prisoners.

Step by step the old *lapidinum* becomes the state prison; the *ergastulum* differentiates into the associate workshop; the Tullian dungeons of which Prudentius so touchingly sings, opens its gloomy window; the *lautumiæ* of Dionysius have developed into solitary confinement, and that tyrant's echo-vaults have changed to jails. The mediæval oubliettes have taken to themselves visiting guardians and the Simmsbury Newgate of Connecticut long since closed its clammy dungeon mines forever. So the differentiation is going on all along the line. The powerful efforts of Howard, Beccaria, Voltaire, William Blackstone, and of many humanitarians of a later generation, have changed the old Newgate to a Milbank and

the Black-Hole to a Reformatory. The prison of to-day is a place of detention at mild associative labor; and the hopeless cachot and vade in pace of a darker age have been metamorphosed into innumerable asylums and industrial schools. Even the grottoed precipice of Mount Taygetus becomes a child-saving institution. A public, taking motive in sympathy and sterling honor, banishes former inhumanities that clustered about the adjudication of punishment. A broad and almost angelic intelligence is winging its passage over the world. A serious problem has been provoked as to whether there can be any such a thing as original crime, the persons in dispute averring that after all, it is environment and ignorance, not inherent wickedness which tempt human beings to commit infractions of law and custom.

Amid all this phenomenal differentiation in the nature and function of prisons, from dungeons of revenge to schools of correction, the management was socialistic from the time that Samson ground grain for the Philistines in his cell, and remains socialistic to-day. It is property of the state—always was, always will be, always should be. Whatever a government determines to do it can do, having power; but the mere competing individual, festering in ignorance and weakness, perishing at his maximum of three-score years and ten, unable to transmit his exiguous learning to posterity, can do comparatively nothing. We perceive from all these arguments that while an individual cannot succeed, not having constitutional aptitudes and powers of adaptation necessary for success, the government, having these factors as a collective power, is able, after centuries of error, of wild, primeval cruelty, and incalculable experience, to succeed. Its principle, because socialistic, lingers with an obstinate tenacity through a dozen downfalls of nations, and finally arrives at perfection to live on forever. It

Following further the phenomena of differentiation of functions we may perceive another class not yet adverted to, but which may soon be something of the greatest interest, on which even now is concentrated a whirlpool of contention involving the best judgment of statesmen and the greatest numeric force of labor organization, propaganda and political power. This is the problem of nationalization of industries.

By the nationalization of industries we do not mean to be restricted to the juridical, the educational and the distributive, all of which might be classed as industries. We mean the forth-coming question of manufacture.

Agès ago large amounts of material for ordinary use were manufactured in community by the state. Kings and lords in those times were the state; that is to say they were the rulers of the state and there were very few middlemen. A heavy share of the labor was done by the actual and emancipated slaves. Innumerable slave pens are found to have been attached to their palaces and to the domestic establishment of the lords and other grandees. Of these there was a class in Greece where slaves were kept toiling, and the workshop where they labored was called the "gynæceum." In Rome, from high antiquity to as late as Justinian, such workshops existed; but they had the advantage of being under the regulations of trades unions, although employed by kings, lords, senators, and afterwards by emperors in the same manner. In India, three hundred years before Christ, there was a large amount of work done for the crown or state in the same or a similar manner, as lucidly described by Strabo, Arrian and others. There were few contractors in those days.

But what shall we say of the methods, of the comforts, of the morals, of the decency which prevailed in those days? A thousand years before our era the Helots were

delving for a common master, the Spartan state; and little better was the Athenian civil service slave. The former were tools of the state, were attached to it, and the repairs these tools received when out of order were those made with the cudgel and the flogging thong. The latter were slaves who, because clerks, accountants, architects and secretaries, were treated with the consideration of shammed respect and were paid the pittance of three oboles a day. Yet so far as it went, this was state socialism; the state owning them and living on their labor, allowing them no liberty or citizenship. We thus perceive that the so-called new economic philosophy of socialism is in theory nothing new. But its modern re-appearance as the scientific means of solving the labor problem is a pure stroke of differentiation. In fact it is a wonderful and beautiful re-appearance. How vast the change and yet how strong the analogy! In its Spartan form the human being was property of the state and his treatment was cruel beyond description. There are no annals in history which present a blacker record. In its modern form the life, so tender, so susceptible of suffering has been raised to citizenship, to liberty, equality, fraternity, the highest estate of man and womanhood with full recognition of the enjoyment and respect once claimed by the arrogant and feelingless lords. The unfeeling mechanical tools, creations of human genius and labor, have quietly taken the ancient toiler's place and set him free. The worker, once the tool, is now its owner.

Closely scanning history we find that all through, the treatment of the inmates of the ancient state or socialistic works was of the lowest class of brutality. Nothing can describe the miseries of the Lacedæmonian and Athenian civil service workingmen—human beings and tools of industry, property of the state. They were in constant danger of assassination to deplete their numbers and had

to submit to every insult and aggravating torture. The Athenian civil service government clerk was kept in long continued service, without citizenship, honor or reward. The denizens of the gynæceum, working for the stately lords, in sheds, cellars, back rooms and pens, at the manufacture of clothing and all manner of goods for the rulers and their retinues were also ignominiously treated; for being largely females as the name of the establishment implies, they were subject to the calls of a multitude of masters who could by law treat them with indecency or even visit upon them the summary punishment of death. The wretches in the ergasterium of Rome, though protected by the social sympathies and prestige of their unions, were subject to the same indignities. Nobody wants such a species of state socialism or such a quality of nationalization of industry to return.

However, the principle remains to this day, adhering with a tenacity that is loudly calling for resuscitation. And well it might; for since those days the human race has grown in kindness of spirit which will no longer tolerate those cruelties. The tissues of our mind have undergone a refinement that rebels against mal-treatment. Thus while the genius of humanity has outgrown the tyranny that reigned in the petty state works of old, the fundamental principle of employment by the state, direct and without the competing contractor, has remained in the hearts of the people.

Wherever an opportunity presents itself this principle is found struggling for re-admittance. And why? Because bad as it ever was, it was far better than competitive management. We have shown its growth or normal progress in the post office. But this progress is making headway in many little industries which are the natural concomitants of that vast concern. Even the mail-bags have outgrown the competitive system and are now being

made and repaired by government. The manufacture of bank notes and a variety of stamps and engravings is done by the government, banishing the competitive system. The methods of instruction have gone over to society to be paid for and administered by governments. The fire-extinguishing business in nearly all the cities has gone with its magnificent inventions and improvements over to non-competitive social management. The supply of water in towns and cities has long been accomplished by the inhabitants in common. The lighting of streets with gas and electricity is in many places work of the citizens themselves. Nobody desires to return to the competitive system because this yields both pleasure and profit and proves most economical in the common interest.

Looking it all over we find a gradual and natural differentiation of functions corresponding to, and keeping pace with, the general growth of humanity as the foundation of society.

The Athenian civil service slave becomes through this natural gradation, the modern civil service departmental employé—progress that is a boon of inestimable value to mankind. Yet as it was government employment in the cruder and comparatively brutal ages, so it is government employment now in this age of feeling.

The old Spartan Helot, after three thousand years of normal differentiation, is clamoring to return, with his faithful wife and children; for by this same process of insensible improvement he still retains his ancient traditional love of government employ. He forgets his cruel stabs and scars and would fain take his place again at the government workshop, plow or desk, glad to assume the citizenship that was before denied him. Nor would he change one hair's breadth from the original principle that always lay, and still abides, at the base of a political

economy that alone can resist the storms of passion and of time.

The old gynæceum where women spun and wove for the great, and men did smith-work, too often as slaves, as often as freedmen but always as wretches, has now returned, be it said to the pride of the departmental service of a diviner government. Instead of the musty vaults and gloomy dens of palaces, and the rickety booths of old outbuildings, belonging to the arrogant, it has been metamorphosed into well ventilated, lighted, furnished work rooms where, under vigorous rules of etiquette and morals, there are enjoyed both citizenship and dignity.

The old ergasterium of our primitive fathers, with its trade union management, has slowly differentiated from the pestilential Aventine, among the slums and squalor, the taverns and booths of the Claudii and the Cæsars, and has come out, boldly demanding reinstatement, this time in the building of public edifices, performing the work of ship-building in navy yards, and even of running railroads and transatlantic lines. It struggles still to retain government ownership and management, but under regulations greatly developed and improved.

The old government industrial system of the ancient Indian kings is slowly awakening to understand anew the long lost advantages to working people, in care, kindness and exemption from military duty,

The fine mechanics who for thirteen hours per day and three hundred and sixty-five days in the year engraved the coins, tablets and escutcheons for the Cæsars, have returned, with their functions differentiated; they are now at work in the mints, the bureaus of engraving, the government printing offices, with their hours reduced to eight, their cares diminished, their right to summer vacation with pay, bosses less exacting, their wages augmented and a sabbath for repose—indeed a stride, mar-

velous in the comparative advantages, though still under the original principle of non-competition as a basis of political economy.

The tradesmen with their pass and tramp papers, who hazed about Europe asking for work of the feudal lords, the church and the little kings, all of whom were the government in those days, have differentiated out of the feudal system, purified their thoughts, settled down upon the idea of direct employment, and are slowly building up their political party and massing power for a new effort to restore to society the management of human labor. The feudal system is differentiating into socialism. In our work subtitled "The Ancient Lowly," we have attempted to show that the original human condition was that of the dense, unintelligent competition like that of the non-reasoning animals and plants; and we made bold to say, at great peril of attack, that the first father was the true bully; that with club and instinct, which latter at length grew to be incipient reason in an abstract form, the biggest beast-man bullied his way up, cultivating concupiscence and irascibility, and consequently, like the competing forms around him, he was unable to greatly increase his numbers. So Plato found things to base his law of the faculties upon. On fuller evidence and more profound reflection we now feel able to outline somewhat more clearly our conclusions on the origin and development of socialism. In the first place, altruism or socialism or mutuality which comes of interdependence, never existed except in the low gregarious forms of instinct-guided creatures until the advent of concrete reason. This showed him how to combine against oppression. The boss first grasped for property and ensconced himself with his human cubs, like the lion, eagle, condor in its lair, eyrie, crag—dens of the beasts and birds of prey. It was the first property; selfish, individualistic,

competitory, admitting not a thought of sharing it in common with others, any more than does the lion to-day. With reason he outgrew the lion. His almost connate companions, the orangs and gorillas, remained behind. They lacked his reason.

We are satisfied that the theory of De Laveleye is an incorrect one. It must be an error in the first place to suppose that socialism, the most progressive and correct as well as the most abiding, should be the first form. How could it be so under the theory of development? No. Man in the remote ages, as dimly remote, if we are to credit Levasseur, as the tertiary where his traces are found in France did not develop either numbers or political economy. The warring club, and fierce, combative passions raged with far greater havoc than they ever could amongst the brutes. When the socialistic intercourse at last came, so as to extend beyond the purely animal domain of perpetuation of species which cannot be counted a factor in this argument, it was brought forth by reason which began to dawn upon him. Socialism is the youngest. The bully with his clubs attacked his own children. These rebelled or ran away and to save themselves they helped each other—a thing which required reason. When they attacked the bully in his den which corresponds to modern property or stronghold, he to save himself clubbed together his congenital bullies and they organized. This was the first socialism. Its proclivities were peaceful but it could also fight. Its progress by differentiation we have described. All progress originates with its birth. From the doings of reason in its concrete form comes history. The lower forms make no recorded deeds.

But art and cunning taught the bully how to apply socialism to his competition. To purify it, then, from the usurpation of its methods and machinery, has been the work of evolution which has consumed æons of time.

The Indian has a beautiful form of socialism, but he has not grown out of the competitive system and therefore cannot progress. His socialism is good for his tribe only. Under it, he might thrive and become populous. But alas for the Indian, he is at war with his neighbors, who are practicing the same form of government. Thus the competition of war perpetuates itself by usurping the principle and machinery of socialism. The vulture of competition transmits itself through this usurpation, applying the great socialistic power to his military competitions which never permit society to develop. What is now true of the Indian is true of our earliest forefathers; It is true of the monarchy. It is true of the monopoly; true of the money power; of the bourgeoisie. It even exists in the hated government officialism. Trade unions organize against it. Farmers form anti-trust and anti-combine associations against it and at last legislation has set in, all along the line, to complete its extermination; and the crucial opposition shall never cease until it has established the full, unhindered, unsurped and scientific force to bring about the promised liberty, equality and fraternity.

The Bushmen of Africa have this socialism in its lowest form; just high enough to keep them together, and they fight. With the Gypsies it is the same but none of them possess enough of the true concrete to ever emancipate them from the shackles of the competitive system raging around them and so they do not grow. Instances are abundant where this usurpation of the power of the social principle and machinery has been great enough to sweep away whole populations. The same double-dealing, undermining characteristics of competition hold good for the African, Mongolian, Australian and Polynesian stocks. They never possessed mind and energy enough to fight free of the competitive usurpers.

It seems that it was reserved for the launching Indo-European and Semitic stocks, who now, as one man, engaged in the philosophy, are purging the last remaining vestiges of that enemy from the earth.

The individual becomes the collective being, the *ontos*, of an improved society, where man is mankind. And why is all this? Simply because it was fundamentally the only system that was correct in principle. After having been usurped for the sake of its power, and cast overboard times unnumbered; after the competitive system has had time, under the historian's pen, to show its insufficiency and failed, and after men have come to know it, the true system comes pleading back, shorn of its ghastly primeval features, its soullessness and fierceness, through the phenomenal differentiation of functions.

It follows, then, from this array of proof, that ever since society was formed it has always had its elements of success but would not use them; and that it cannot use them except by following the law of nature as shown in her disposition of parts in the animal mechanism, to be turned to her service, whereby each aptitude and power of adaptation delights to work co-operatively, not separately, and for the common good.

It is thus that we may hope to eventually arrive at a state where there is no disease or dissolution. Then and not till then shall men have achieved for their political economy a concord of their faculties and of their adaptive powers.

CHAPTER VI.

FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS.

ARE LIBERTIES, Aptitudes and Opportunities Crippled by Collectivism?—Happiness the Goal of Life—How it is to be Found—Old and New Methods of Obtaining this Boon—The Competitive System has been tried and it has Failed—About Majorities—Citizens Like Shareholders in a Company—Rebel if Excluded from the Profits—Power Worship—Two Methods of Political Economy—Explanation of—The Eleemosynary System—Mr Dugdale's "Jukes"—Bad Effects of the System of Charity—Full Power of an Argument—Investigation of Prison Association—Statistics of the Jukes Family—Another Illustration by Rev. Mr. McCulloch, at Convention of Society of Charities and Corrections—"The Children of Ishmael"—Their Numbers and True Character—Sympathy of People made them Worse—Mr. McCulloch's Conclusions—The "Inapt" Ones—The State Must Attend to their Education—Compulsory Schooling—The Question of Deterioration of Genius—"The Cradles"—Philosophy of Development and Retrogression—Theory of Spencer Reversed—Phenomena of Misapplied Evidence—The Troglodytes—Earliest Appearance of Socialism caused the First Progress—Views—Influence of Environment—Results of Compulsory education Law—Non-Competition an Outcome of Reason

in its Concrete Form—The Maxim of Immanuel Kant—Great Common School of the Future—Becomes a Typical Workshop—Power of Means in Solving Questions of Labor—History in its Enlarged Sense—Force, or the Begging Vagrant; Which? Compulsory Education a Non-Competitive Measure—How Co-operation is Refined into Socialism—Charges Against It—Arguments of the Charge Refuted—A Full Canvass—Accusation Groundless with Human Aptitudes Rightly Applied—The Recipients of Government Bounties are Those Who Succeed—Solomon—Archimides—Ericsson—Ptolemy Philadelphus—Libraries the Largest and Best are Government Undertakings—Property of Nobody but of Everybody—Who Owns the Universities?—Motto of the French Revolution—All Crave to Get Endorsement of Government—Railroads as Public Property—The Merciless Companies—A Dying Political Economy—Men's Aptitudes Throttled and Curtailed by Environment—Pernicious Mystification by Writers—Rooted in a Fundamental Error—What was Concentration Becomes Expansion—Instances of the Cruelty of Power—Athenian Civil Service—The Spartan Helots—A System that has Developed from Coarsest Tyranny to purest Refinement—Social Power the Final Hope of Majorities—The Question of Temperance Requires same Treatment—Insurmountable Power of Profit Incentive—Twenty-five percent. Profit is Sufficient to Force All Obstacles against Success—Profit on Liquor Amounts to this, and More—Great Anti-Liquor Movement—Pollard and Wright—Temperance Agitation Honest, But On the Wrong Basis—Its Solution belongs to Social Science—Definition of Value—Single Tax—Adam Smith and Quesnay—The Physiocrats—What are the Tools of Labor?—Scientific Idea of Taxation—Scientific Basis of the Socialists' Repudiation of the Single Tax—Its Bloody History—Statement of Mulhall giving Statistics of the Concerns which Make our Millionaires—They are those Exempted by It, From Paying Taxes—Turgot, Calonne and Necker—

Malthusian Doctrine—The Poor Man Damned—Scientific Adjustment of Population to Means—Plato's Plans.

ARE LIBERTIES, abilities and powers of adaptation curtailed and crippled by a purely social system of employment?

This question resolves itself at once, under two heads. The first is, whether a state based on a perfect mutuality would curtail the liberties of the individual, politically. The second is, whether his general standing or happiness would be imperiled socially.

Happiness is the goal men seek in life; but it is found by vistas of experience, and verified by the history and biography of men, that there has been a full test of the sum of happiness, such as it is possible to achieve under competitive conditions, whereas the guaranty to be had under the mutual state remains problematic.

It may be satisfactory enough to advocates of existing political economy, to base their proof upon those who cut great figures in the world; but on a more minute inspection the fact appears that while these few have succeeded in obtaining much of that exquisite boon, they have done it by taking advantage of others and as a consequence millions fell while few arose. From a point of view of humanity then, the competitive system has failed to make men prosperous and happy. We have from the first held that a system which fails to yield good things to the majority must naturally be a failure. A majority is the largest number of any part; and it matters little in logic whether it be a nation of people or a body of stockholders in a company. When a railroad receives its capital from contributions or paid-up shares contributed by a thousand shareholders, under the promise and expectation of receiving dividends from the business,

and only a dozen are ever allowed to get them, the nine hundred and ninety defrauded ones may consider their venture a failure. Their business may flourish financially but they are excluded from the profit. As a consequence they organize and publish their grievance by protest and resistance. The same is true of a society to which people are born as citizens. The same is true of a national government. It is business. It is a joint stock company which embraces all citizens; and they have a perfect right to an equal share in all derivable advantages. If they fail to receive it, then it is because there is maladjustment causing failure; and the hardships of this failure are the more aggravating when these citizens are compelled to stand off and behold a privileged few, as robbers, in the flagrant act of taking all and leaving for the majority nothing. This is commonly the cause of popular protest. It is the basis directly or indirectly of labor agitations. From this, much of the movement springs. The equitable adjustment of this grievance is the solution of the social question. There are, therefore, fundamental errors in the arguments of political economists. What and where are they?

One of the first of these errors is power worship which must be regarded as a true superstition handed down in the human spirit from generation to generation with a prevalence and a tenacity almost astonishing. If men could be emancipated from the groveling superstition of power worship as it manifests itself world-wide in supplicance to kings, lords, property holders, overseers and foremen, they would raise themselves to a moral height that would make them feel toward each other a degree of equality. But to rise above this beggarly state and at the same time remain under the influences of the competitive system is more than can be expected. There is no such thing in its influence as moral or educated

perfectability; a fact which has been acknowledged by writers of undoubted wisdom. Not only are two distinct methods of political economy under discussion and under practical test, but there are two as distinct methods of looking at human life.

One demands that men should first study and investigate everything, working upwards. The other requires them to leave almost everything to faith. This advocates the idea of power in upper realms and conceives only a paternal dignity, justice and benevolence in the invisible. Of this we would not complain were it not for the results. But the fact is, the one is leading to self-help with all the concomitants of resistance and protest, causing men to rush together by millions for mutual assistance, the other causes them to depend upon the so-called "powers that be," which lead to charity, dependence and the keeping up of the great eleemosynary system. This system of charity so long popular has recently been investigated by both the legal and theological professions and pronounced not only a total failure but a pernicious source of harm.

We may give a few examples of it. Mr. R. D. Dugdale, a member of the New York Prison Association, was sent by it, in 1874, to make an inspection of the practical causes of crime. He followed the genealogy of a certain notorious family of law-breakers whom, in his monograph printed in the 30th Annual Report of the Prison Association, he denominates "The Jukes." Since 1720-40, the dates of the planting of this family among the lakes, forests and crags of a certain region of the state of New York, there were registered 540 descendants of blood relationship and 169 by marriage or co-habitation. The aggregate of the line reached 1,200 persons. The entire family is characterized as strong and vigorous in body but thievish and dangerous mentally. Little or

nothing has ever been done for them in the educational line. The cost to the state of these twelve hundred persons in seventy-five years, all coming through a single family, amounted to \$1,008,000. "Without reckoning the cash paid for whiskey, or taking into account the entailment of pauperism and crime of the survivors in succeeding generations, and the incurable diseases, idiocy and insanity growing out of this debauchery, and reaching farther than we can calculate." The book is used as a fundamental and overwhelming argument against the eleemosynary system.

Another instance has been presented in a paper by the Rev. Mr. O. C. McCulloch of Indiana, read at the convention of Charities and Corrections, at Buffalo in 1888. The title of this paper was "The Children of Ishmael, a Study in Social Degradation." He brought upon the stage an immense diagram showing the social condition of thirty families through five generations, numbering 1,692 persons. The history of these families had been followed up during a period of fifty years. Among them there had been quite a number of murderers, and thieves beyond count. They would never work if they could help it. Their mode of life was principally begging and thieving. Licentiousness characterized their men and women. The general results of their habits were weakness, mental irresponsibility and incapacity to work so as to take care of themselves. This drew the sympathy of their neighbors who secured them unlimited public and private assistance, the results of which were to encourage them in an idle and vicious life. In the speaker's opinion it was, in a large degree responsible for the perpetuation of this stock of humanity. What public relief failed to accomplish was made up by private charity. In his opinion, the so-called charitable element of society who gave alms to begging women and children,

had a large sin to answer for. He recommended that the authorities should close official out-door relief, check private, indiscriminate benevolence which he designated under the head of false charity, and enforce the education of their children.

Such people are called the "inapt ones" and they naturally elicit sympathy, one of the worst sources of their degradation. If the community where they are to be found would furnish work instead of gifts of charity they would break up a fundamental error. Carlyle is perhaps correct in his suggestion that the inapt ones must be dealt with by governments and likewise that their deportation to colonies in foreign lands cannot be otherwise than "infatuations and futilities for them;" but his idea of treating them as government slaves will never do. They are victims of birth and environment; and justice will never consent to their degradation. Here it is that socialism comes in to the rescue of civilization with its tenderness which embraces revolution. It pleads for a reversal of these inhuman sentiments of Carlyle. It will that their country, the land of their birth, treat them as citizens and human beings. It teaches that it is their environment which must be improved. Their education must be attended to; their love of the moral, the æsthetic, the good, must be made to substitute their depraved habits. They must be reared in kindness and self-respect, supplied with work according to their powers of adaptation, guarded by regulations based on charity of spirit, not charity of purse, until they grow into man and womanhood and develop to be honorable citizens. Patience in the application of this remedy will survive to see such a system succeed in a few generations.

Another thing to be considered comes under the head of deterioration of genius—a subject intimately connected with our argument, belonging to economic phil-

osophy. Max, who in 1720, planted the Jukes family analyzed by Mr. Dugdale, appears to have been a man of much strength and force of character. Settling down among the Adirondacs where no progress has ever been made either in agriculture or population, he seems in his trapper life, to have inclined to the habits of a gain-getter of another sort and to have fallen in with vagrants, runaways from the Indian wars and refugees from the gallows; and unlike western men of later years, who can rise in character, he sank and dragged his family with him. All this to a person of passive nature is a perfectly natural outcome of environment. Nobody has a chance to develop in the crags and pocket-gulfs of such regions because, like the wild beasts, they inhabit lairs. Their nests are known as "The cradles." If they cannot develop and do not emigrate; they are certain to deteriorate from generation to generation. Their system admits of a large amount of liberty and their communism, so charming to the backwoodsman, was in the case of the Jukes family, of the most baneful kind. Their whole scheme of faculties and predilections was of an order to deteriorate rather than advance. But the tendency, as in every case where men are born to fixed habits and customs, was to love and cherish, like the Indian or the Gypsy, their free and wild abodes. They could not easily be forced to suppress their modes and plans. They are in the pure competition of life, wedged into an inextricable bondage of common prejudices.

As a result we find the unnerving theory of Spencer exactly reversed. The society which is unequivocally competitive has unnerved them. Like Gypsies they endeavor to cling to a sickly mutuality among themselves, more as a bulwark behind which to screen their predatory tricks and their sensuous anarchy than for self improvement—all rude and vicious characteristics of com-

petitory highwaymanship and libertinism which socialism scorns and repudiates. This life has in course of generations robbed them of moral and æsthetic strength. The very system so vehemently condemned by this author in his writings, namely, the socialistic one, is called upon by the philanthropist Mr. Dugdale, and Rev. Mr. McCulloch, as the only one that can restore them to the estate of true humanity.

We here perceive one of the phenomena of misapplied evidence. Tracing the history of civilization back to the remote ages of cave men as they have left their imprints for the naturalist, we find proof that the purely competitive, like that of all the other animals, was the original condition of mankind. Men stuck tenaciously to their niches and grottoes and built about them like marauding squatters, jealously protecting the den as the lions do. They did not wander about like the nomads, till driven from their home. Home, sweet home was ever the song of the human race and ever will be. They lived by hunting, fishing, and agriculture, quarreling over each others' gettings, practiced a sort of wild animal intercourse, and when they grew numerous, fought under their strongest chieftains as do the Jukes, and could not rise above the clan.

It was not until they grew to the understanding of socialism and began to have things and rules in common that their laws and their legislation, their modes of adjudication, much of their manufacture, even their military paraphernalia were based upon socialism and the advent of this launch of progress was not for unknown cycles of time. Not till his laggard, bedizzened intellect, through the uncounted æons, and by the experience of an ocean of experience and of unrecorded misery did his mind become equal to its adaptation in the concrete form, so as to conceive of socialism. This was the progressive

element, not the original competition. As shown in our chapter on the concord of faculties, it was the altruism or mutuality forming so powerful an ingredient of the social structure, which furnished them means of development. And here is seen the phenomena of misconception of evidence which has led political economists astray. They are unable to comprehend this one great, fundamental, self-evident truth, that human progress has only risen on lines of socialism which represents *concrete* reason. None can come out of its *abstract* form.

This is a view from the standpoint of humanity in general. It is reaffirmed in the narrower particular of the Jukes. They could not rise because their environment did not permit of rising, unassisted, above their morally low competitive sphere; a sphere in which every argument of political economists except the socialists, tends to perpetuate them.

But the peculiarly encouraging manifestation of to-day is the protest that is being made by scientists, charitable organizations, and institutions of benevolence, as well as by men of religious tenets, such as Mr. Dugdale and Mr. McCulloch. These men, after studying the environment of the families in question, after being shocked at beholding their helplessness as children of pure competitive conditions, and seeing them sinking, and with an inability to rise, recommend socialism as the means for their emancipation. They recommend education. But education is an institution of society, supported by taxation, the surplus gifts of Jefferson, and school lands. It is a purely socialistic institution. It may be advanced that these families, living in by-places and difficult to approach, many of their members dangerous and alert, at all times ready to resist, will never submit to education. The answer is, that the state of New York has provided a special law for their case—the law of compulsory edu-

cation. This law, it will be argued, is based upon force and is obnoxious; it must remain a dead letter because brutal. Again, it will be said that the measure from the start was considered contradictory to possibility and incompatible with existing things; since nobody can attend school who is a begging vagrant. Such persons have no means. They cannot attend school. To drive them to the performance of a thing impossible is preposterous. We can meet this with the bold assertion that the law is something new under the sun. It is a non-competitive measure, socialistic in class and was the outcome of pure reason in the concrete; and these very incompatibilities are what characterize it as a great and noble measure because it projects its demands in the face of absurdity.

It is a demand of the people against the growing amidst them, of a nest of dangerous characters. In Pompey's time they might have sent out an expedition and had them exterminated. But society has grown and can no more perpetrate such deeds. With Kant the citizen now says that whatever is right and ought to be, *must* be, even though society have to levy on the strong powers of governments to enforce its accomplishment, since it is just. There is no politician's time-serving expedient in this. The law of itself calls for means and it must create the means. Means is what men are in search of, then, not only in the state of New York but all over the world, as the labor question grows. Through this test it is already seen that if the citizen is without means, he or she must be provided with it. If the children have no money they have muscle and can work and society perceives that it must provide them work, and that is the socialistic, the anti-competitive element of the law. It is this train of reasoning, so totally antagonistic to the teaching of the old-school political economists, which is steadily obtaining a foothold. The school-house is already becom-

ing the workshop. The little one, no matter how good or how depraved its birth and life, is already delighted with its kindergarten training school which feeds it as it leads it through the charming mazes of study and refinement, past babyhood into adolescence, up to manhood and maturity, which in a few generations will extirpate all there ever was of evil in its nature.

Crime, every phase of it, every thought of it, and all the hideous factors of competition are swallowed up and disappear; for the incentive which provokes them is extinct. Not the depraved alone but all—the rich, the well-to-do, the whole and not a part—are participants and learners at this school and no black sheep is recognized as in the outside world, to blush and withdraw, or coddle vengeance; for all are graded to a common level. All work and learn and rise in manhood and dignity together. That is the great common school of a future near at hand.

Following this line takes us gradually out of the fundamental error on which false statesmanship and its untenable advocacy rest; and it leads us to a clear insight into that golden "other side" whose tenets are noncompetitive and altruistic and under which liberties, abilities, aptitudes and opportunities are no longer unnerved and crippled but set at liberty

Is it true that the co-operative method, or that system refined to socialism whereby the speculative bent of individuals is eliminated, will effect the curtailment of mind and its faculties? This has been most cogently charged, and appears to have had few champions to defend it. The answer is:

No; if the question is put touching human aptitudes or the natural gifts. It makes little difference how one is placed in the world as regards the realization of what he is born to do, longs to do, and has the natural gifts

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for. The sole question with such a one is means. Ours is the economic age. It is argued that the mind is hampered by environments entailed upon holders of government positions and that in consequence, persons are deprived of liberty, cannot develop their fullest forces, and that they dwindle into nothingness. The answer is, that this is a fundamental error. The contrary is true. The history of the past gives overwhelming evidence that the great actions of men have been performed while discharging the duties of a government office; and these duties, as we have abundantly shown, are socialistic. In a large number of cases such actions are selfish, sordid and very unbecoming; and these take advantage of the power that resides in governments which are based on socialism, to abuse the principle with the very means it furnished the knave or the egotist. But it is not always so. We challenge the advocate of this theory to present his facts in the history of mankind. He will immediately stumble over an enormous mass of evidence disproving his premises. Taking history in its enlarged sense, it shows that nearly everybody who has succeeded has wrought his success through the prestige, power and pay of governments from Solomon down. In the long line of experiences covered between the remote and the present, there has been great variety of aptitude and variety of undertakings. The inventive faculties were early the recipients of government power and favor. Archimedes invented war engines for his government and got his pay for it, and Ericsson did the same in modern times. Neither one of these ingenious men could do anything without the opportunity and means which nations furnished them. Did government employ unnerve them? At the Alexandrian library—a government institution—Ptolemy Philadelphus collected such a mass of books that authors credit him with 700,000 volumes. He could have done

nothing in the way of gratifying his faculty for collecting lore without imperial means. What would be the great Congressional Library at Washington without the same unlimited means? Not only military genius of many kinds has drawn upon this great source of means belonging, not to the individualistic or competitive, but strictly to the socialistic class. Under the civil service system of Great Britain and in its pay, hundreds of the most active, launching and scientific radicals of the socialists' school are growing up; and so powerful is their influence and so correct and business-like their powers of adaptation, that they are drawing the attention of statesmen; besides they are often selected for appointments as secretaries and directors.

Again in further refutation of this fallacious argument which claims that genius and the better activities are stunted by being property of the people, one may refer to the universities. Most of these are endowed and subsist from century to century upon the interest of monies bequeathed them. They do not belong to anybody; they are social property. They belong to society. Besides this, many of them receive regular subventions in form of annuities from state or government. The best American universities are those of the various states. As social property do they curtail the opportunities of either their faculties or students, to work out the gifts of mind to which they were born? On the contrary, it is through endowments that the great telescopes are being erected and through this means astronomers and mathematicians compute calendars and assert and prove their powers of discovery. They could do nothing without them. It is thus, again, that social ownership and control supply rather than curtail the means of gratifying human faculties.

But if so much can be said of the advantages derivable

from state and social institutions in past and present what shall be said of the greater advantages opening up to humanity in the future social state?

"Liberty, equality, fraternity" has been the motto of the socialists ever since the French Revolution and all true reform in Europe since that time has been socialistic, and in direct antagonism to individualism, but based on those three words. Does either of them mean curtailment of faculties, enjoyment, or development? Are the growing movements of humanity, as represented in the German Socialist vote, the English Trade Union system, the French revolutionary school, the American politico-labor elections, the Belgian socialism, the Italian and Spanish struggles for freedom in the direction of curtailment, not enlarging their personal aptitudes and faculties? Now, the tenets of every one of these vast organizations, rapidly becoming political powers, are such as to put down the old individual rule, suppress armies, multiply positions in co-operative or society-owned concerns, enlarge the functions of machinery, decrease the hours and the drudgery of the labor day and increase general education—all socialistic and anti-competitive. They are all of them inculcating the sentiment which stands in opposition to men described in Mr. Byles' cogent words as "Wise heads who put the swindlings into their pouch and leave the swindled public to stare at one another." We shall show that the advantages for bringing out human faculties will always be taken hold of and gladly utilized in proportion to the powers and opportunities of adaptation. Under the competitive system the reverse has always proved true. Ideas and good works have always been curtailed and strangled while civilization has been the loser.

When an individual or company possessing management gets a scheme of any kind, whether business or po-

litical, and is without means, the natural tendency is to obtain the endorsement and the aid of government. Under competition which is the only system they would not scorn, men go straight to a socialistic institution for the means. Deny this as they will, it is true. A man born with ambitions for military display and power, schemes to get command and sanction from his seat of government. This government, however foolish, is an institution of society and belongs, not to an individual or a corporation but to a nation of citizens. The nation is a typical embodiment of collectivism. It is at present a crude and silly socialism, but a socialism nevertheless; and through its very weakness the adroit manager succeeds, by deluging the land in blood, in satisfying his ambitions. He could not succeed otherwise, and could not then, but for the ignorance and barbarity of the citizens.

When a company of individuals with talent but without means, determine to build a railroad, they frequently apply to the seat of their government for permission and money. Thus socialism creeps into every thing, blinding and confusing its own principle and falling a victim to bribes, frauds and corruption, to enslave itself under sordid personal greed. It generally happens however, that in course of time the company of individuals prove incompetent and the full possession is at last taken back by the state, thus perfecting the business by returning it to the people. It is in this way that most of the railroads of Europe are becoming public property. When their charter runs out or they cannot comply with the stipulations of their contract; when the masses of people become dissatisfied with their extortions, then, socialism, improved by its experience, assumes complete control. The Mexican government helped its companies to build national railroads and it is believed that, all the circum-

stances considered, it will prove a wise measure in the end. In the same manner the trans-continental railroads in the United States were first constructed. Of this, it may be said, that the transactions in the schemes of joint stock companies, however nefarious, were accomplished through government. Their effrontery in lobbying corrupt measures through Congress during a period of the republic's life when there was no opposition, when the necessity for the roads was felt and before it was known to what an extent monopolies will abuse their power, were cunningly brought to a successful termination, is something astonishing. Under these methods the government was made to furnish nearly all the means and also to give away to these companies enormous tracts of valuable land. It turned out that the companies, desiring nothing but to grasp their gains, and mercilessly victimizing the people on every hand, drew down upon them the wrath of their victims who organized anti-monopoly leagues, became a political element of vast proportions, endorsed the principles of the socialists who demanded that governments should own and operate railroads without go-betweens or meddlers, and in this manner heralded before an immense nation the lessons they had learned. King Leopold of Belgium had the wisdom and statesmanship to found the Belgian railroads on this principle. The people of Belgium thank him more and more for this pure and disinterested foresight.

Bridges, gates, gas and electric lighting plants, water works for supplying communities, even hospitals and in some places public passenger conveyances, are one after another tumbling out of their ancient and hateful tolls, monopolies and octrois, into the hands of free communities who are doubly gladdened by the economy and the deliverance.

Experiments by fish commissions, agricultural bureaus,

and forestry as well as by irrigation commissions are being authorized by governments, which although with hesitation and niggardliness, show signs of the breaking down of an ancient and stubborn tradition holding individuals and free competitions alone as competent to do the needs of society. Each experiment with the lesson it inculcates drives away some of the economic mystification with which ignorance and prejudice have long blinded mankind. All these are blows with the maul of socialism, chiseling out the sarcophagus of a dying political economy.

The faculties and powers of adaptation and of means are not curtailed by the protection which powerful institutions give to projects, either of the enterprises here mentioned or to individuals born with an insight and a craving desire for performing a certain task. A large percentage of young men, painters, mechanics, teachers professionals, agriculturists and managers are so unfortunately environed that they never bring out to the world the products of precious gifts with which they are born. Nobody appreciates their abilities. No one has the care of them. They are out in the frigid, heartless sphere of competition. Their neighbors regard them with coldness and distrust. Poverty and jealousy, those two cruel ogres which lie in wait for modest worth, thicken upon their every hope and aspiration, and they sink into nothingness without others knowing that they ever lived. They wither with broken hopes and die of broken hearts. They never receive the smiles of the patriot father, are almost forgotten by their heavenly Father and the race who by not recognizing them lost their valuable contribution to humanity, flounders forever in ignorant ingratitude. No writer of political economy will deny these facts. Their denial asserts itself when we trumpet our blast to the world that society, the state, the source of power, the

paternal father, should take up its thus neglected children's cause. It is the true function of society to furnish those endowed by nature with useful gifts and powers, with employment whereby they may realize their longings and make themselves useful citizens.

Giving to the children of the state as a paternal helping hand, a chance to work and develop, to realize economic liberty, to make themselves useful in society, is regarded by writers on competitive politics, with horror. Since the publication of Mr. Herbert Spencer's works, this expression of "horror" has become universal though it embodies a pernicious mystification, rooted into a fundamental error. How often do we hear it reiterated against the new legislation which provides for compulsory education. Yet the pure-minded moralists can find no other means for elevating the minds and purifying and citizenizing the down-sinking families of the Jukes.

"To give the railroads to government," argues the writer of these books, "would deprive citizens who work upon them of both their liberties and their wit. The government becomes a huge monopoly; the labor of its citizens as well as the free functions of competition are lost by being concentrated upon a cold and brutal monopoly. A slavish, beggarly deterioration of native genius supervenes as a stupefying corollary, emerging from paternalism." This denunciatory argument is on the tongue of thousands. It is used even by employes of government under civil service who grossly belie their everyday life and stultify themselves in a rapid contradiction. The truth is, the government's influence in doing such things is the exact reverse of all these allegations. Its ownership of railroads sets them free from monopoly. Instead of concentrating, it diffuses its rule over the people. What was arbitrary and tyrannical, becomes mild and democratical because owned by all instead of few.

What was concentration as expressed in cut-downs of wages, becomes expansion, expressed in laws for increased compensation; what was bitter becomes sweet and what were long hours which wearied the body and mind preventing their development, become short hours with summer vacation on pay, which frees the skill and genius by offering opportunity and enriching the factors of chance. But the noblest of all these arguments is in the fact, that by it a new incentive of citizenship is created. Each workman, now an owner as well as employé, takes the purest citizen's co-interest in the excellence of his labor product. This is unknown in the competitive world. It explains why the great railroad strikes never molest the postal trains. It explains why in New Zealand, Australia, Belgium and elsewhere, there never occur any labor wrangles. The workmen themselves own the railroads in common citizenship.

One calls the giving to a state of this paternal helping power the coming slavery; another stamps it as the approaching reign of terror. All pretend to agree that its effects will be not only to curtail human aspirations and deaden intellect, but that it will subordinate dignity manhood and freedom.

Should this occur to any large extent so as to transcend the numbers of the gifted under the present competitive stage of society, then the answer may be: "It is true." But will it always be true? Here again the answer is reversed. Under the present system a faithful workman is taken on at a navy yard. It is a government establishment. We give a true illustration which came under our own eye. A machinist, who, because of his superior genius and skill, was transferred from his lathe to a planer with the order to groove out dovetail joints in the sleeve brasses of the large eighteen-inch propeller shafts of some United States marine engines. The dovetailing was to

receive the lignum vitæ wear-slips which alternate with metal to form the boxing of the great propeller shaft; and one end of these brasses, which were six feet long, was still worse complicated with a stuffing-box to keep the sea water from entering the ship. Several machinists had tried to do this intricate work and failed. This man, after studying his job carefully, invented a so-called goose-neck tool which was found to accomplish the work. But the dresser who forged and tempered the tool failed to perform the niceties of his art and the tool was broken. The machinist then demanded and after some exhibition of feeling, obtained permission and fire and forged his own steel, to which he gave so delicate and perfect a temper that it lasted until the whole task was finished. The beautiful metallic shavings that twirled out and coiled along the planer-bed for days and weeks as the work progressed attracted many visitors, among whom were the admiral and other officers of the navy, who led in their ladies to admire the skill and nicety of the workman's ingenuity.

Now what was the reward of this machinist for doing so easily and perfectly what others proved incompetent to do? The answer is that on the day of the completion of the work he was discharged from service. As he was a poor student of other things and was trying to lay by enough money to go to Europe to finish his education, this treatment proved almost a calamity. It was the result of a currish jealousy on the part of his fellow workmen, his foreman, and the contemptible government officers who had the work in charge. Their own abilities had been outstripped by a modest little man who had said not a word, nor interfered, nor manifested an exultant emotion. All this inhumanity was the outcome of a government workshop correctly supposed to belong to the socialistic class of management.

If the political economists who wail against this form confine their base of objection to examples like this, then we agree with them that there is neither liberty nor justice for humanity in socialism; for it cannot be denied of a purely manufacturing and repairing establishment like the machine shop of a government navy yard where the work is done without contract, under government pay and direction, that it is one of the principles of non-competitive or altruistic socialism. But it is one of that brutal sort, like the Athenian civil service slavery. Fundamentally, even the pernicious system on which rested the Athenian civil service, was correct; but it had never gone through its ordeal of differentiation. It was socialism usurped by competition. It was competition as a thief who had stolen the communal gem. It was the jealous individualism that had crawled at night into it, as a political satrapy and conjured up some cause he was too secret and dishonest to explain. No question involving the welfare of humanity or a great principle had ever been mooted. It was the diamond encysted in its crudities and it was the grosser shells whose jagged edges cut and wounded the victim at the direction of a diabolical competitor.

Not content with the illustration shown in the machinist and his fate, we may mention Boettgher, whose saddened life of usefulness as the inventor of porcelain we have exhibited in another chapter. It will serve to emphasize the argument. This is another case of tyranny by government. Under orders of the duke, with the money of the people and entirely aloof from the competitive or individual régime, this remarkably ingenious and valuable man was picketed about in a sort of military stockade, marched to and from the works of which he was inventor, founder and sole director, often tortured with the insult of arrest, and goaded with manacles and fetters until a welcomed death relieved him.

But this was all the work of what we have denominated a usurpation of the principle and of the machinery of socialism. In both cases it was the inhuman mischief of a bully seizing and appropriating a good principle to a bad end. Now if the political economist, writing against socialism as the coming slavery, brings this phase of misery as proof of his argument, then we agree with him that cruelty, brutality, hideous forms of malice and all the truculent wreakings of vengeance can, in a manner more inhuman be consummated with such a power at command, than by any other in existence. It is like the Spartan Helot system where the tools of the socialistic state were human beings—the reverse of the modern demand for state ownership and control of the inanimate tools of business. We would again agree with them that were slavery thus represented here in its ne plus ultra form it would be a reign of terror.

But the whole truth is, this argument of theirs is a sophistry ; a thin film covers and hides the most insidious and virulent species of competition. It is the competitor seizing this social and sacred arm of power and swerving it from its natural and proper functions. It is the cruel, cutting crust that hides the diamond ; it is Mr. Spencer's "competition bargained out"—a fundamental error.

The true future of this control by society does not open through such a line of tactics. The world's millions, many of whom have felt the bitterness of wrongs like these, are growing in a knowledge of what their system is. If the tyrant who sits at command of such a power, can, in the people's unorganized and helpless condition, use it as a means of glutting vengeance, placating jealousy, or soothing ambitions, what can he do with it when men assume the political power ; when they make of it a means to justice ? Cannot the people apply its influence

and power little by little, in developing a better civilization? Can they not, when born with aptitudes, gratify their longings through the aid which good legislation may render? There is nothing good which it is not capable of doing for them. There is no limit to its possibilities for good, just as there is no limit to its possibilities for evil. What humanity wants is its full possession and control. What humanity must use is the concrete of reason and no longer the earthy abstract, that they may bring within its realm their faculties and powers. When this is accomplished the usurpation of the selfish few will give place to the control of a collective many and the motto of liberty, equality and fraternity will be realized.

It is a mistaken statesman who argues that this is not the natural principle to be applied to railroads and other means of transportation. No effort of the people to obtain relief against combinations, trusts and syndicates can be successfully based on any other system than that of complete ownership by society of these instrumentalities. All other means will prove failures; and at last the people are beginning to understand it so. The vast organizations of Europe are based upon the one great hope of finally obtaining power, that they may themselves administer to their own destiny; for with power without instrumentalities at their social command they can expect nothing but the cruel ingratitude we have described. The rate of growth attained in the American states in the same direction has been a depressing surprise to students of political economy belonging to the competitive school. They behold their time-honored institution in its dotage, moribund and disappearing.

The same that is said of monopoly may be said of the temperance question. Its management is conducted on a fundamental error. This has been a serious problem in the minds of men from a high antiquity. No nearer

solution to it has ever been arrived at than the ancients made. The principal slurs against inebriety were pronounced by early writers; it being alleged that intemperance existed among certain communes most of which, on examination of their inscriptions, turn out to have been labor organizations. They are called bacchanals, saturnalia, lupercalia and many other bad names by Cicero; and Demosthenes won his most celebrated oratorical victory by taking their orgies as a basis. They used to have their carnivals when they could earn enough to pay for wine and refreshments, and being hated because, like modern working people, they were organized, we get an occasional mention of them from the writers. But they had their temperance agitations and songs as well as their drinking bouts.

No known improvement was ever made since or before the debaucheries of Sodom and Gomorrah. This fact is entirely attributable to the greed of the liquor sellers for gains; and it is to be charged against the competitive system. Whenever any business, no matter whether good or bad, yields a sure and reliable profit of twenty-five percent., no movement is strong enough to suppress it. The liquor business, considered from a purely commercial point of view, pays more than that. To suppose then, that the question of intemperance can be settled, and that the destructive scourge can be banished from among mankind under the competitive system, is a fundamental error. An amount beyond the powers of estimation has been exhausted upon this subject. Fifty years ago a movement was raging in the United States led by Pollard and Wright and others; and it spread with a flame exceeding anything which has since existed; and to its enthusiasm and force is due much of the great anti-liquor movement of this day. In fact, it became the basis of a somewhat lucrative lecture business whereby

much moral good was accomplished. But still the great curse blights the land. Those who have a penetrating eye perceive that little or no headway is being made, although much is done in the way of preparing the mind for the coming system which is competent to dispel it as a scourge. Dr. Dawson Burns of the United Kingdom Alliance, in publishing England's "Drink Bill" for 1892, showed that it compared with the figures of the previous years, falling off but a trifle. The figures were enormous. The powerful monopoly of the liquor dealers appears to be complete master of the business and they can dictate terms, sometimes even to parliament and set at defiance all the temperance movements of the world. They work in secret and with tactics so subtle and with a method so unerring that they stand in control of the great gold power, which is safer in crises than any other, because stubbornly maintained by their millions of victims. It is to the liquor trust's advantage that drunkards should be born to their calamities and live in, and reproduce their cravings as a sad inheritance so that before death they may seed down the fields of their disaster forever.

The same sin infects the American Republic. Vast opposition rises against it on every hand; but the whisky trusts work their devilish machinations and the temptations and influence of money are too strong for the tears of mothers, the exhortations of pulpits, or the appeals of legislatures.

The whole trouble is, that good men and women zealously searching a cure for this fascinating disease which is cankering the blood and embittering the spirits of their darlings, are pertinaciously clinging to the old competency methods to stamp out the products of competition. It will not work. Yet one hope is coming to view. With the great socialist movement cropping

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out all along the line, they become students. The true student, after having first pored over the pages of writers and found no help, and in deep solicitude exhausted his own research, sees in the condition nothing but a barren, illusive mirage which infatuates as it wastes and enchants as it allures. This student already shows symptoms of that revulsion near at hand which is causing humanity to break away from a rhapsody that has too long fascinated and kept civilization astray. There is a cure in the alcohol problem; and people must take their leap across this al-sirat of infatuation that they may see it. It is socialism that sees only good and knows no wheedler's smile nor tempter's gold. The student, heart-sick with worn-out methods which never brought relief, seeing the competitive system feasting on its victims, framing the competitor's laws, living on robbery, sapping the best brain to force larger profits, is going to rise with a bound and seize upon that method which guarantees relief. He is already starting from this dulcet slumber and his distaste is especially whetted as he sees the old delusion weakening in the glare of a new and a brighter light.

The new method of curing the evil of intemperance is that of state interference. The temperance movement made a fundamental mistake at the start. Like the Athenians who entrusted their expedition to Nicias, good at money making but good for nothing at command, the teetotlers entrusted their reform to the competitive system, good at the golden end but good for nothing at reform.

The manner of realizing the socialistic remedy for intemperance is that simple one, the political. It is of all others simplest, so simple that people cannot believe in it—jumbled as they are in the mazy intricacies of competitions. The people must nationalize its sale.

By it the people are to vote at the ballot box to have their nation manufacture and sell the liquors, taking every vestige of the traffic out of the hands of individuals and dispensing it like drugs and medicines under prescription. Until this is done, the drunkard will infest the neighborhoods and the whisky trust will continue its rule. Both production and sale must be nationalized.

It will be objected against this plan that it is impossible; that it is unconstitutional; that it is absurd; that it is dangerously revolutionary; in fine, an unheard-of innovation. We answer, then let it come the sooner. Such moral and economic revolutions are fashion in these days. If the invention of gunpowder, of printing, of a motive power, of the power loom and spinning machine, of electric transmission and light, could revolutionize war, literature, conveyance, textile manufacture, even modes of thought, and end in filling the world with brilliancy and blessings, we can foreknell no fears of a revolution that shall drive away the dealers in poisons which fill the earth with calamity and the graveyards with victims.

Turn your anti-liquor eloquence toward this unique panacea and ultimatum and let its thunders roll. Be manly and fearless and these obstinate destroyers will disappear. The problem of intemperance must be submitted to the whole people, men and women. It must be submitted to the imperative mandate and referendum. Then intelligence will stop its manufacture.

Another fundamental error partly exploded by Adam Smith, is that in relation to the origin and source of values. Webster gives us, for the definition of value, "The property or properties of a thing which render it useful; or the degree of such property or properties; importance." Corroboratory of this, Webster extends, under heading 3, his supplementary definition as: "Rate or estimated worth; price deemed or accepted as equiva-

lent to the utility of anything; amount obtainable in exchange for a thing." Adam Smith established in his *Wealth of Nations*, that: "Labor is the only universal as well as accurate measure of value or the only standard by which we may compare the values of different commodities at all times and in all places." According to this, land has no value; so that Webster's definition does not cover the land which is a basis and not a commodity like a product of human labor. Smith's idea is virtually endorsed and adopted by the movement of scientific socialists or democrats, and is opposed to that of the physiocrats with whom Adam Smith quarreled. These held that land was the basis of value since it is the first substance on which life depends. The physiocrats got it from *physis*, which in Greek means nature. But air, land, water, light, electricity, natural gas, minerals and a multitude of other things are now known to science as included in this word. Smith knew Quesnay, the founder of the physiocrats, in 1765, and his central idea of a single tax on the land; and he was too scientific to long remain ignorant of Quesnay's fundamental error. He seems to have understood that land, in a country populated by human beings can no more produce values, if left alone of itself than air, water or sunlight can. He knew that not only the combined powers of all these elements were needed to produce values, but even then, they will not produce without labor. Virtually therefore, they are the basis or the instrumentalities, or we might say the vehicles of labor. Now the new movement upon which the real labor organization has drawn its inspiration holds that the tools or implements of labor, are, whether prepared by nature or by man, natural and are therefore common; and being the common inheritance of man should belong to the state. But a state does not tax its own property. In the socialistic state each indus-

try pays its own way, there being no tax levied. If society owns a railroad it charges passenger and freight rates just high enough to cover all the expenses of hiring employes, supplying rolling stock, making up for the wear and tear and other disbursements which government uses in the business; but it has no ambition or incentive to charge more. Society, therefore, is constantly straining every nerve to reduce expense so that its members may ride and transmit goods at low rates. If it owned manufactories, the same would be done in their case also; the profit incentive would be eliminated and at the same time the people would become exempt from tax in proportion to the multiplication of those industries. The same would eventually apply to land and land culture. The idea of taxation of all kinds is superseded, and the great cost to the people, of maintaining tax collectors and custom houses goes with it. When foreign countries do the same there will be absolute free trade and anything short of this is aggravated complication, which confuses and never solves the problems of political economy.

Thus there is a fundamental error in taxation of every kind. But Adam Smith, after studying the plan of the physicists which Turgot, comptroller of finance for Louis XV. undertook to enforce on the eve of the French Revolution, was too clear-sighted to subscribe to it. He admitted that it was an approach to the correct idea, but strenuously protested against it as fundamentally incorrect because it did not accord full credit to labor. With him, values were the product of all producing labor and of nothing but labor and were not confined to labor of land products but engrossed everything that sustained life or produced wealth. This made a vast difference. The remarkable thing in connection with this question of single tax on land, is, that Adam Smith is the philosopher who,

on that one point is concurred in by the socialists, since these new factors in the political sphere repudiate the physiocrats altogether.

We now come to speak briefly of the history of that conflict which was precipitated to a far greater degree than is generally supposed by this physiocratic land tax. It was one of the immediate causes of that terrible holocaust. It is true that the farmers did not own the land as extensively as at present. It was owned by the feudal nobles who had in former ages, wrenched it from them. This made no difference. The tax was levied on both the land and the farm products in which farmers were interested. When levied on the land itself, it reacted upon the farm product just as is the case to-day whenever the rich are taxed. The indignation of the farm hands and poor artisan classes knew no bounds. Not only the farmers, but also the towns people organized in their unrestrainable rage, mobbed the excise offices, took bread, wheat and every other product they could, and as the frenzy rose from day to day they grew in numbers simultaneously in all parts of France, marched upon Paris, seized and guillotined the king and for four years continued the work of death and reorganization, until millions fell, the aristocracy was nearly extinguished, the land was divided among themselves, the trade corporations were abolished, a tax was fixed on incomes and a republic was proclaimed. Such was the great French revolution of 1789, the immediate outburst of which was largely due to the so-called single tax on land. A somewhat modified plan of the physiocrats, involving a single tax on land, has more recently been advocated by Mr. Henry George with remarkable energy and power. He has based it upon his work, *Progress and Poverty*, which contains many pure and truthful things, advocated in language irrefutable and salient with brilliancy, genius

and originality. The book has honored him by an enormous sale, but met with an ominous reception by all the socialists, because they understood both its tendency and history; and the farmers, as if foreseeing in its philosophy the spectral skeletons of 1789 grinning a portentous premonition of another seismic quaking among the human militants, have stood off and viewed its progress with anything but welcome.

The introduction of this fundamental error into modern political economy would have the following effects: It would anger the agricultural class exactly as it did during the French Revolution. The great land owners, if their land itself were taxed, would repeat what was then done and raise the prices of land products, and the burden would fall upon working people of both farms and shops. But single tax of the physiocrats was likewise levied on all land products, while it exempted other products. Undertake this and another revolution will instantly follow. The mere usufruct of land will not supply sufficient to pay expenses of a people and support the agriculturists besides. It has been shown that in proportion as population increases the power of land for their supply decreases; and Mulhall's statistics agree with Malthus. Mulhall has shown that whenever there come to be sixty-five millionaires whose wealth proceeds through commerce there will be fifty-eight made millionaires by manufacture, and only eight by ownership and speculation upon land. He furthermore shows that while the opportunities for hoarding fortunes are rising in the two first, they are diminishing in the latter. Thus the land is not productive of millionaires in proportion to other factors of wealth. Obeying the law of self-preservation, the more powerful invariably shirk their burdens upon the weak in cases where the competitive system rules. This fact holds good in the case of farmer and

farm tenant, the burden bearers, on whom the load actually weighs. If the tax did not strike them directly it would strike them indirectly.

But it would have the effect also of favoring the commercial, the moneyed and the manufacturing classes, exactly in proportion as the tax on them is removed. By this theory, therefore, the tax is lifted from the sixty-five millionaires in the commercial business and from the fifty-eight millionaires in the manufacturing business, as well as from the holders of money, bonds and stocks; since it is imposed entirely on land, its speculators, its products, its farmers, and its mines and miners. It would be a very dangerous experiment to try; and in the already excited condition of the vast agricultural and mining elements, humanity might well stand off in mortal fear of another revolution.

This strange error reminds one of the "iridescent dream;" beautiful as a theory but in application it has been known to engender nightmares. Neither the irenicon nor the eudæmonia broods within its bewitching parlors. Under a silken cobweb there watches the same green-eyed arachnid out of whose embrace mankind once tore a nation, and split itself in twain in an epocal struggle for deliverance, filling the baskets with the heads of a million of men and women. It is a sweet-scented zephyr whose rustling sounds among the verdant leaves of faith may develop in a day to a Vesuvius.

Land, air, water, light, electricity and minerals are the gift of nature. They are instrumentalities of life. They are natural elements. They are free principles. Law has no more right to levy tax on them than it has to fix a tax on the firmament. It may be just to appraise and tax a product, but not a tool. That is society's. Tools as instrumentalities go free. A manufacturer may make taxable reapers and mowers; but in his case they are a

product. The social state regards them as commodities until it takes them and applies them to use, whereupon they become tools. The product of tools should alone be taxed and there must be no partiality about it. Until the true social state is realized in which there is free trade, taxation must be levied on all alike; not crowded upon the land and its limited powers of wealth and of production.

We repeat that labor products only should be taxed. A bond, a coin, a note, a stock interest, an elevator of grain held for speculation, land and its village and city lots especially when held for speculation, an income over and above the quantity needed for maintenance; all these, even the laid out lots, are products of labor. Adam Smith whose voluminous bungle of verbiage, is otherwise prolix in moribund standards and dismal cacchinations, struck the bottom of this great problem when he fought himself away from the sophistry of Quesnay, Turgot, Calonne and Necker, that celebrated quadrugenesis of disaster, and pronounced the fundamental truth that labor alone is the source of all the foods and goods of nations. In the transition state from the abstract to the concrete powers of reason and before the aptitudes and faculties of adaptation are scientifically adjusted to a final essence, we are obliged to tax each other for maintaining our expenses, and mildly with other things, the land; but fundamentally there are no land values any more than there are values which measure the price of flesh and blood. There are only product values. You cannot cube out the air and appraise and tax the cubes. You will find it perilous to tax or levy charges on the cubic yards of sunlight, without which life would perish, surely and swiftly as without the land. You dare no longer set a value on mind and body. It is no longer possible to fix values on life and liberty by so sordid an equipoise as price.

It would be returning to that barbarism which made it law, when debtors could not pay, to hang them upon a gibbet and let the creditors cut out their pound of flesh, cancelling their accounts with vengeance.

A fundamental error is abroad regarding the Malthusian doctrines of population. It is at best a cruel school; but so long as the competitive system reigns, the doctrine itself must remain correct. It furthermore conforms to the more recently formulated theory of the survival of the fittest. Mr. Malthus in 1803, published his work on population which is remarkable for two expressions. The first contains his premises from which may be had an essence thus extracted:

"Population when unchecked increases in a geometrical ratio while food can be made to increase at farthest only in an arithmetical ratio." Geometrical progression will double once in a generation. At this rate it would increase in five hundred years, more than a million times if unchecked. Not so with the means of existence under the Malthusian law; for if this increases only on an arithmetical ratio, instead of multiplying a million times, the food supply could only swell in volume twenty times in the five hundred years. This striking disparity in the ratios of increase caused Malthus to study out his celebrated means of checking population. In preparing his ground for the method of checks to population, which are too shockingly cruel to be repeated here, Mr. Malthus gives utterance to his second celebrated expression, which may be regarded as a postulate based on the atrocious law of property, and reads as follows:

"A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents on whom he has a just demand, and if the society does not want his labor, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At

nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders."

This hideous pronunciamento from a university professor shocked humanity. An ominous protest arose from the proletarian class. The theories of Godwin, Hall, Thompson, Fourier, Saint-Simon, Owen, Proudhon and an army of other great thinkers were arrayed against him, and he was submitted to the most searching criticism, ever submitted to, perhaps, by any author of modern times. That criticism still continues among those too weak to penetrate its awful truth and contemplate it as the effect of causes. Were there an adjustment of human aptitudes to befit the social fabric, whereby the elements of society—the inventive, the constructive, the distributive, the managerial and the adjudicatory—were interwoven as in the corporeal fabric, the heart, the bones, the cerebral and the alimentary, on the plan of socialism such as we have described, then, no such internecine anathema would have been pronounced. But the world, recognizing property above life, and being "already possessed," by rich men growing richer, who are scowling at the poor growing poorer, without a provision except the law of compensations with its entailment, on primogeniture, survival of the fittest who are the favored ones, the cunning and the strong, nothing can be more thoroughly or fundamentally true. Let him, therefore, who reads these lines, no longer wonder at the vast, angry and ominous protest swelling up from the depths of the damned, and threatening to rise and exterminate the whole competitive régime.

The question of adjusting increase of population to increase of subsistence under socialism is left to concrete reason. Malthus who had a mind adapted to solving practical things, could see that if population increases in

geometrical, and subsistence only in arithmetical ratio, destruction or wholesale prevention of births must follow as a natural conclusion. He was all this time trying to confute the radical socialists, such as Godwin, Thompson and Hall.

Why he failed to perceive the easy induction of socialism it is difficult to understand; for no one doubts his honesty. He could never have read the fourth book of Plato's Republic, for that alone might have settled this question within his mind. A keen analytical mind with a tinge of the true philosophy which is sweeping on the new political economy would immediately throw aside the competitive system and do as Plato and his friends did—fling the whole wretched thing away and make a bold dash for a communal government. In this, one will perceive and be able to grasp, a means of settling the disparity in the two ratios of increase. In Plato's plan the reasoner is placed in a position to use the concrete form of reason. From this exalted height he can clearly see that the severe Malthusian plan of extermination by epidemics, famines and wars on the one hand, and the still more hard-hearted one of abstinence and celibacy, as the checks to population, are none of them of any use; nor can they be regarded as else than the perpetuation of the atrocities of a savage life.

To the scientific socialist this problem is left to education and an enlightened reason which work in the direction of studying out and obeying the laws of nature. A thousand little rules and laws of life would result from a pure code of ethics and legislation, if society could be based upon methods that are non-competitive and humane; and enjoyment would be enhanced on every hand; while population no longer in keeping with beastial fortuities characterizing the competitive system, would confine itself within lines of judgment and discretion.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL AVERAGES.

THE PARADOX of Collectivism—The Principle and its Machinery—Natural Corollary—Competitive Policies prove Failures—A Protest—How Nature's Law is Ruptured—Rome was Starved to Death—The Body Corporeal and the Body Politic—Outline of Plan of General Averages—Belgium as a Typical Illustration—King Leopold's State Railroads—His "Dangerous and Revolutionary Policy" Proves an Incalculable Blessing to Mankind—Furnishing a Splendid Model for Other States—Absorption of Subsidiary Tracks—A Phenomenon of Political Economy—It is the new Second Incentive of Citizenship—Explanation—Why Strikers on Railroads do not Interfere with the Mails—Share of Citizenship—No Strikes or Quarrels known on Government Railroads—The Co-Interest in the New Incentive—Arguments for General Averages—New Political Economy that is in the Ascendant—The Roman Itineraries—How the Express Monopolies may be got Rid of—Gravitating Tendency of Genius toward its Natural Fields of Labor—Functions of a Model Government—Telegraphs and Telephones as Government Property—The Cable Lines Follow—The "Unnerving" Theory—Less Drudgery, more Opportunity—"No One is willingly Bad" is the Declaration of Plato—Principle of General Averages Defined—Absorption by Government of the Mines—What are the True Gifts of Nature—Definition of Property—Dangers of

Coal Mining—Advantages of the more Scientific Methods—How Monopolies Weaken with every State Acquisition—State Ownership of the Mills—Plan of the Socialized Manufacturers—They must Not Endeavor to Compete—None but the Best Machinery and the Best Talent Allowed in the Experiment—No Profit Incentive—Abolishment of the Great Advertising Industries—Loss in Labor through these Waste Arteries—How the Armies Get their Cheap Supplies—How Cities may Own and Operate their Markets—Great Advantage to the Farmers by It—Nature's Law of Compensations—How to get Rid of Middlemen and Obtain Pure Food Direct from the Farmers—The State Can Socialize the Money—Maxim of Feuerbach—The Marx-Engels Manifesto—Its Money Clause—Jefferson's United States Deposit fund—General Average was One of his Plans—Exaction of Individuals—Bequest of Surplus Sums by the Rich to Institutions, is Conversion of Competitive into Socialistic Money—Pseudomorphous Banks—The Wappenstyl and Wappengebrauch of Dr. Curtius Showing Antiquity of Metallic Money—Precarious Conditions during War Times made it Necessary—A Fiat Money possible only where there is no Danger from Invasion—Illustration—Fiat Money may be issued by any Government at Peace with Itself and the World—Why? Because its Property is a Better Intrinsic Base than Metals—Origin of a Traditon—A Boding Discovery—The Tables Turning Against Gold and Silver—They may Lose their Intrinsic Values—Full Explanation—Dangerous Money Power—Government Stronger than the Individual or the Group—The National Schooling System—Question of Land—It Requires Free Use of Great Capital—Bad Irrigation—Unscientific Farming amidst Abundant Means—The Referendum—The Ideal Government and its Socialized Industries—The Scheme Enlarged and Extended over The World—Placing the Abilities and Powers of Adaptation—Progressive Tax on Incomes—Simply an Ameliorative Means to an End—How it is to be Levied—It would

Exempt the Poor and Strike the inordinately Rich—Explanation—What Society might accomplish in a Generation—All the World Could be Reconstructed in Ninety Days—Right Man Gravitates to Right Place—The Social Microcosm—Ulian Lays down the Law of Socialism—He makes the Common Law Outline the Social State—Apportionment of Industries to the Healthful Places of the Earth—Roads, Water Lines, Air Lines which form their Approaches—Graphic descriptive Views—Rates of Travel Reduced—The Terebinthinate Plains—Russia not European enough to be Competitive—A Mundane Paradise—Falsities of Ricardo and Bastiat Receding into Oblivion—Great Beauty of the Law of Compensations—Civilization no longer under Torture—Definition of General Averages—How Labor is made to Lose its Drudgery—No Waste, No Over-Production—Man as Mankind—Whimsicalities of Detail Avoided—The Great Movement Already too far Advanced to be longer Considered Utopian—Quotations in Proof.

THE ARGUMENT embodied in the two preceding chapters reveals the paradox that in the rise and fall of governments, whatever there was of collectivism still remains. Both the principle and the machinery through which that principle was realized continue to exist, although so veiled and hidden that the fact is ignored and denied. The corollary of this paradox is, that whatever there is of it which is engrafted into government and has failed, is that belonging to competition. The competitive policies of mankind have almost always, sooner or later, proved failures. The managerial classes of aptitudes have risen and fallen, heaved, ebbed and collapsed, tearing, mutilating, destroying, burying as they fell; yet at every ebb and flux, polishing and refining the principle, while to all appearance they bruised and damaged the machinery by which they rose. The phenomenon discloses

to the student that all the vicissitudes belong to perishable competitions while all that is staunch and steadfast belongs to collectivism. This retains its structure like a diamond in its crust, holding on forever, ready to be cleaned and re-employed, as men grow in wisdom to assume truth and learn to be governed by the stubborn, unalterable law of nature.

We now propose to set forth as clearly, and in language as terse and unmistakable, the principle of general averages, indispensable as a means by which this collective management may be made to supplant the competitive system entirely. It is necessary to point out, specimen by specimen, the places and the industries that would be economized, as well as to show the valuable gains; and we shall deduct the profits and penetrate the mysteries of the process of evening up, by overlapping the surplus, diminishing the hours and filling deficits with the excess.

Nor is this protest which we make against the unbusiness-like manner now prevailing in the distribution of labor products, anything new. In his sketches of the Cæsars, Aurelius Victor gives us Agrippa's speech on the body rebelling against the lazy belly and refusing to give it any more food. As a consequence, of course, both died of starvation. The law of nature was ruptured. This apportions to every part of the body a certain task to do in common, with the assured result that if that task be performed, not only the particular part performing it, but also the whole corporeal structure of which it is a part, will thrive and abound in happiness; and if one part gets lazy and refuses to work, the whole organism perishes. It is the same with a state or body politic. Rome starved to death. Athens and Corinth starved. A republic will starve to death if it pinches or freezes out its working members. The body, arrogating to be more than it is, bloated with a food of indigestible gold, rebels

against the intestinal millions because they want the products of their labors averaged among the entire community so that in their scientific scale of equitable apportionment the repartition will be general and thoroughly in accord with nature's law, as illustrated in the communism of the corporeal body. Like every other of nature's creations, these workers, seeing themselves attacked and deprived, quit work through want and madness; and the whole body politic is threatened with starvation. They must all learn to average their powers of repartition and recognize a community of interests so that the entire product of each one's labor shall be enjoyed to the fullest extent by each as well as by all.

That there is a willingness to do, each one his or her share, is not a question; for the citizen is only too anxious to labor when treated with respect and equality. But how to accomplish this equi-distribution so that all may have the full product of their labor is yet an unexplained problem.

We shall now outline the plan of general averages of labor and of labor product on a scientific basis as entertained by the pure concrete, emphasized in the law of nature and in the industrial party and then work like a careful mechanic, to our lines. In giving our views we likewise present the latest schedule of the methods that promise to create free trade throughout the whole future world.

Any nation enjoying the present civilization may serve to illustrate. Belgium will do; The United States may be better; Australia or New Zealand might answer better still, and Germany with her three million socialist votes, France with an intrepid experience and her million of ballots, steadily growing and always wisely placed, or England with her protean model of voting trade unionism and her epoch-making progress, might eclipse them

all. In choosing which to select, we are staggered with indecision and jostle back to little Belgium, that modern multum-in-parvo and politico-military nondescript, which has long bossed the railroads and whose soldiers once on a time turned upon their officers to show them their teeth. Her marvelous social practice has recently set the aged and insolent powers aghast. We furthermore choose Belgium for our model so that the professorial critic's slur cannot go out, that another Utopia has appeared, for much of it is there.

The first thing to do is to start out by organizing a thoroughly honest political party. This can only be done by founding it upon the principles and resolutely holding principle above ambition. It must be so permeated with common sense as to be both ingenuous and unscrupulous. This Belgium showed when Leopold I. honestly and daringly struck out for governmentalizing railroads, at a date so early that there was comparatively no question confronting his sagacious policy.

Here then, we find Belgium the first owner of railroads. At the outset these roads—only the main lines—could show neither profit nor great satisfaction. The joint stock companies, seeing their scheme of a railroad plant intercepted, and prompted by the French and other companies in neighboring states who joined in ridiculing the scheme of the Belgian king, were for a long time doubtful about this “dangerous and revolutionary policy.”

But all these clouds were finally swept away by their overwhelming delight and profit, for the common people. A clause in the law furthermore provided for the state absorbing all the side and subsidiary tracks and lines after a certain length of time. Nothing could break down the policy and the entire system is soon to become public property.

The incomes from the railroads we may suppose were

at first meagre. Every obstruction to be thought of was thrown against their thrift. They were sneered at and the newspapers were prone to the habit of poisoning public opinion against them; but the masses in their delight to get cheap fares and freights and the peculiar satisfaction that dwells upon a citizen's share in common ownership unknown in company roads, remained staunch to face the storm until they began to pay their own expenses. When this occurred they became a political success.

The system of general averages which is so elastic as to work both ways, was a constant attendant in their distress. When the roads were too young, too weak and too badly throttled to earn enough to pay their own expenses, the government could supply the annual deficit in form of an appropriation. When on the other hand, they began to more than earn what was wanted for their needs, they naturally paid back the borrowed money to the government. Great simplicity in management was the result, and great has been the satisfaction. The people could not now be prevailed upon to go back to the monopoly of their roads by individuals. They own them as an inheritance through citizenship, and would fight on lines of true patriotism rather than lose this inestimable boon.

But it is here that we discover another phenomenon in political economy. It is that of the second incentive of citizenship which we have already explained in our work, the "Labor Catechism of Political Economy," but which, being so important, may be adverted to here, from time to time, illustrating this argument.

When a great strike occurs on a railroad, it has always been noticed that no interference with the mails carried on its lines, is permitted by the strikers. People have often observed this and wondered. Nothing is simpler than its explanation. Strikers are citizens. And citizens

are co-owners in public property. The post office with its mail bags and other contents of the coaches are public property. No person wishes to destroy that which is his own. All there is on board a train except the mails is the property of individuals, in which the striker has no common interest. In fact he hates both the train and its owners and it is against them only that he wages warfare. When therefore, the railroad becomes public property as is the post, a complete revolution in sentiment takes possession of his breast. How can he wish to destroy that which is his own? This alone answers all who inquire with bewilderment why no strikes ever occur on government railroads. On the Belgian railroads there are no strikes. In New Zealand where all railroads are state property no strikes have ever occurred. No man in his right mind will destroy what is his own. A company road is an enemy rather than a friend. The poor man feels no share in common with it. When he works for it, it is only to sell his labor to the cold-hearted bidder in a heartless market. He has but one incentive—the selfish but honorable and natural one of earning wages. When he works for, or deals with, a government road, it is his own. He feels a co-interest in it and a new incentive presents itself, unknown before. This is what patriotism is based on. It is strictly social in principle. The other is strictly competitive; and it creates the second incentive of citizenship unknown before.

The argument of general averages enters here. So soon as the road, under the laws and regulations determined upon by parliament, begins to declare a dividend, the money is received into the treasury of the nation to keep not only its own expenses paid but for a fund in reserve—the exact reverse of what is done with it in individual ownership. Legislation regarding the roads goes on improving from year to year; the expenses are econ-

nized, the needs of the people discussed, the methods simplified, the régime perfected, the rates of travel and transportation reduced—all under the eye and at the demand of the people. The people are responsible for everything done; in fact they do it themselves.

From the moment these roads arrive at a self-sustaining condition wherein their wear and tear, their franchise and their cost to government which is equivalent to taxes, are made good, they may be said to be in the ascendant and on the broad road to enduring prosperity. They now become a business factor in the true political economy. The employé is blessed with a new incentive to citizenship and so far as this one business is concerned strikes and other social disturbances are at an end. The greed incentive of the money getter exists no longer. The hindrances to progress which so complicate statesmanship are swept away. The business becomes a normal factor of civilization. The railroads can now assume their ancient and primitive post and like the Roman itineraries take back their mail-bags, budgets and parcels making of the post office for the first time, a perfect thing. They can now become transmitters of government treasure, of coin and bullion and bills, thus aiding in sweeping away the hated express companies on the one hand and the money power on the other—twin ogres which goad and threaten humanity.

But the exquisite tints of this changed nature of their functions are seen in their new-found power of adapting the faculties and aptitudes of men who work them. The genius required by them for their multitude of wants gravitates to its place uncontaminated by the competitive intrigues of professional place-getters. It is left without checks to glide to its place under natural impulse, rather than to get there by underhanded influence, crowding or violence as in competitive concerns. And when it takes

its stand its new incentive afforded by co-ownership inherent in government property serves to make its labors faithful, honest and efficient. Thus far, then, our ideal government structure bears inspection and criticism.

Having obtained and put on trial in the new system the railroads, our model government turns its attention to the nationalizing of the electric inventions. The first of these is the telegraph. By a stroke of legislation it is acquired. The telegraph brings with it a large number of workers who require by nature a peculiar class of aptitudes. So long as companies were in possession of the telegraph lines, the postal system closely allied to it by business relationship could not develop from long-hand messages and slow transfers into instantaneous dispatches. It was consequently always behind and its slow motions became an annoyance and a laughing stock. It could not keep pace with the times. Half of its legitimate business was squeezed through the scheme of competitive extortions which is an agglutinant of individualism, placing them at costs beyond the common citizen's purse. A pernicious result of this is to render business aristocratic and to draw useless lines of pride and humiliation. But this ownership and control by society soon tones their service down to a price at which a dispatch may be sent at rates that all can pay without this degrading distinction. It is likewise incorporated into the postal service and becomes another enormous factor of collective, as distinguished from competitive business. The people chosen to operate its lines are engaged during good behavior and are all under the ennobling inspiration of the second incentive of good citizenship. They are encouraged in their trade organization and are expected to defend all points of political economy working for justice to all men.

Telephones follow in the same line of policy and are

annexed to the government's property, with the full understanding of the people that every one of them so annexed lessens by so much the quantity of property belonging to individuals. With this absorption by society the number of working shareholders in the great commonwealth which possesses the unique and invaluable quality of a second incentive of citizenship and of true patriotism, is proportionately increased. As every person so engaged correspondingly lessens the numbers employed by individual or competitive concerns, the power to concentrate into monopolies and trusts is correspondingly weakened and the hope of deliverance from competitive rule is encouraged.

No sooner does the government perceive itself an owner of the telegraphs and phones than it begins to make arrangements in the line of general averages. One specimen of this manifests itself in international economies. During a great blizzard which occurred in 1888, in the United States, the country between Boston and New York was for stretches buried seventy feet deep under snowdrifts and telegraphic communication was cut off. Business suffered much in consequence, especially among small establishments needing constant rapid communication to meet orders. The great and rich however, were enabled to go on by telegraphing from Boston to London and from London to New York; thus keeping up their business as if nothing had happened. They had their surplus pooled or stored in a reserve fund set apart for emergencies and were too strong to mind the extra expense. When nations own these cable lines, the humble citizen may in the same manner, do what the wealthy could do. An international arrangement, therefore, is agreed upon by treaty whereby this beautiful mechanical science is applied at the same cost for six thousand miles as for six. The prices for telegraphing and tele-

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phoning are averaged down to cost, and the rapid transit of dispatches becomes available to all. Thus it is not by philosophy alone that the conciliation of human aptitudes and applicabilities is going to be attained. Its attainment will likewise be aided by mechanical devices which man with science and skill has created. That conciliation is to be achieved solely by making of them a social property.

Again, the pernicious unnerving theory, or theory of deterioration of vigor, is swept away. The exhilarating factors, such as less drudgery and more opportunity, afforded by the citizen employé's co-operation in the business at which he labors, produces this effect. Having a foothold, he is now in a condition to work up the mettle that is born in him; and feeling toward society the second incentive of citizenship, he will turn his energies toward improvements. Ownership by society of means of existence, together with the wisdom in a political economy which admits of general averages, soon tones the workman's labor down to that standard by which he virtually receives and enjoys the full product of his labor.

The great political economist of the far past constantly held in the books of his Republic that no one is willingly bad; and pessimists of superstition and ignorance, of subsequent ages have been confounded. But they forget that the savant of the hemlock was a socialist, and that before uttering these truthful words he had thrown overboard as untenable the competitive system and was building the Republic upon socialism. They were worse and worse confounded, standing as they did upon the competitive system, when they were forced by him to swallow down his axioms, shedding a brighter and broader light, so destructive of Spencer's modern averments regarding the hebetation of faculties; for the old philosopher portrays in every stroke the manner in which it in-

spirits originality and brainwork. It positively drives mind out of the tame and abstract condition, into the lively concrete, which is susceptible to perfection. By every one of these industries being absorbed into the nation from time to time, the tendency, aided by general averages, is toward emancipation from some thralldom of competition. When all are compassed the enfranchisement is complete.

The principle of general averages prescribes that whenever a town desiring to set up street conveyance, town lighting, cleaning, water supply, schools or even markets, it shall be done by the town direct and without any contract work or intermediary ownership or control, the averaging of surplus and shortage to be applied whenever one or the other fails to fully defray its own expenses.

We may now turn attention to the Belgian mines—that stumbling block of the competitive system which has for generations kept the poor man on his knees, not alone in his darkly lamp lit cavern, but in suppliance to his hard-hearted, exacting employer. What can this collectivism do to elevate the miner from his degraded social position? It has been shown in a previous chapter that the land, like air, light, water and electricity, is an element or gift of nature and that it is not property. A mine is an element of the land. The treasure contained in it belongs to nobody. In this light it bears the same economic relationship to property that the undeveloped element does; and it is as invisible. The ground, the rude rocks and even water, contain hidden within them, portions of alluminium, that beautiful mineral which threatens to supersede iron the monarch of metals. Who shall conceive the effrontery to lay the competitory embargo on the mines of aluminium? It is not property, nor does it possess value until converted to use. Then it becomes a product of labor and can be estimated.

The same must be said of coal. The Belgian owners had no natural right to appropriate the fields of subterranean fuel. They belonged to the state and to humanity and we now suppose them to be restored. The reasons for this are manifold. One of the strongest, is the fact that men are not only stunted in body and mind by being forced at a starving pittance and under protracted hours, to waste their lives away in the service of labor drivers who have no interest in their welfare and in whom they in turn, have no solicitude, but because the methods and devices of mining tend to torture, wound and brutalize, working an uncivilizing influence, degrading and contradictory to national advancement. Like the victims of coal mines the world over, these fuel diggers are allowed by their employers no time to make of themselves either citizens or gentlemen. To grope with an oil lamp on their front and a pick in their hand, in the dark and dangerous grottoes, loosening out for his greedy company the tons of fossil vegetation of a problematic past is all he is allowed to live for; and no matter what his inborn aptitudes and powers of adaptation, they are swallowed up in the hideous vortex of firedamp and starvation; for manhood, quality, citizenship and genius are chilled and vitrified in the crucible of wages slavery. There ought to be an office of the society for the prevention of cruelty established at every coal pit's mouth, with a Rhadamanthus to judge these hells of doom.

But in our ideal Belgium, government becomes the owner and the selfish boss with his hebetating curse of greed is supplanted by a new environment exactly the reverse. The unnerving strain upon muscle and mind is relaxed. The workman's indifference to his employer is corrected by the new incentive of citizenship inherent in his co-ownership as stockholder in the state. His old drudgery of twelve hours a day becomes a labor of choice

at six. The danger from explosions and poisons, of fire-damp and from caving are reduced to comparative safety by application of scientific apparatus which individualism was too stingy to pay for. His pay is nearly doubled although the fuel dug is sold to community at half the rates before demanded. With these advantages miners are elevated in mind and body, and are proportionately furnished with means to realize what they were born for. The unnerving theory is reversed. The workman becomes something more than a drudge; he receives full acknowledgment as a citizen and blooms in the dignity of manhood because he has finally come into the full possession of what he produces.

A poor and overworked class of people are thus suddenly elevated into recognition of citizenship and find themselves no longer slaves of the pit but officers in the civil service of their government. Instead of a grimy inferno, watched by the clammy god of netherworlds, in darkness and gloom, they find themselves honored engineers in a scientific department under the political economy of socialism. In it, inventions can never be suppressed. All good innovations are encouraged. Under this method every mining find, meteorological discovery, strategical opening, every psychologic, medicinal, surgical, mechanical acquisition, every theory and suggestion from whatever source, is honored, respected and worked to its fullest and the results averaged in the schedules. Business and science for once grasp hands in the work of political economy. Improvements everywhere in production as well as distribution and the setting of all implements of labor at work in the collective interest, with their products scientifically averaged, is the coming theme.

Again, as was the case with the railroads and the telegraphs, every man employed in and about the coal mines

under this new ownership by the state is withdrawn or taken away from the former monopolies, thus weakening that power. The new inducements to honesty and intelligence give vigor to their incentives of good citizenship. The system of general averages, possible only in common ownership, impossible to competitions of individualism, here applies with a natural afflatus unknown before. Strikes which before were the rule rather than the exception, are at an end; and the business once begun, goes on uninterruptedly forever, improved by each year's legislation and experience.

Belgium, if she can own her mines can own her mills. We will illustrate first by the example of a cotton mill and then enlarge our understanding to perceive that if a single mill under government management can prove successful, that success will become manifold with the absorption by it, of all the others. In introducing this, we are aware that it involves a bold policy and a shrewd statesmanship which nothing but the studious and determined members of an almost countless labor party can accomplish. It means nothing less than a restoration to the masses of the people combined in social organization, of a vast staple industry and the taking of the same out from the control of individuals or corporations, or both, who usurp business which is a public function, and who appropriate it to their own account, under a hypothetical law of competition. It means, therefore, a social revolution. It is worthy the consideration of a century; for it is both vast and just. The distribution of its products requires a careful and well-defined adaptation of the rules of general averages; and to enforce these rules, the socialized railroads, telegraphs, telephones and post office must be called into constant service.

In the socializing of this manufacturing industry and the application of general averages, the government, up-

held and prompted by the industrial party must make the beginning. People should never think of opening a manufactory on immediate or direct competition. If they do this, it will fail. The industry to be permanent and self-sustaining must be started by an appropriation from government, so that moral and social rather than competitive economies are the uppermost hope of the people. If, from the start, these employés are treated better than in other factories, a brilliant new incentive is launched into the world worth agitating, organizing and voting for. If, for the first few years, it fails of competing with outside establishments the basis of whose success is the iron law of wages and the consequent enslavement and degradation of its working classes, and if it shows a shortage which must be averaged up as is always done for the post office by appropriations, let no one be alarmed. It has a greater and nobler object than that of paltry competitive gain on slave-made goods. It has the welfare of humanity to look to. To expect then, to compete at first with the iron law of wages would lead to disappointment.

First let congress, or parliament, or legislature determine by law to establish a cotton mill. Let no mistakes be made in selecting an available place with cheap power and accessible to the seaports and fields on which it is to depend for markets and raw materials. Let estimates be made and a few millions appropriated. Let none but the most scientific machinery be ordered and none but the best engineers be engaged. When the mill is finished it must not be expected to excel in making and placing goods on the markets, nor can it at first hope to dispose of them except as others do ; and as its hands work less time and receive a little more pay it is indispensably necessary that its projectors should expect, and even be willing and glad to pay an annual deficit out of the national treasury as an averaging fund for a considerable time.

This bold determination of the new scheme of political economy will also encounter the angry opposition of all the competitive mills in the states and a secret and careful combination will be made to defeat the project by every means of lampoonry and libel and perhaps by frequent attempts of force.

But while this is all true, the new mills possess an advantage which the competitive ones do not. They have no desire for profit. Profit is the only incentive and ultimatum of a competitive mill. Without profit it will languish and die. The government mill desires no profit. Its functions are to supply humanity with pure, honest goods and to raise those who are employed in it, with mutual kindness and care. The difference then, is all the way from brutal oppression of an ancient competitive individualism to the humane intercare of mutuality. Another important but not so sensible advantage possessed by the new mills is slowly recognized in the general improvement of the goods coming through the new urgent, to honesty. This we characterize as the second incentive of citizenship. It can never be the policy of such a manufactory to produce and palm off as genuine the spurious stuffs, such as under competitive deal constantly deceive and cheat purchasers. This is the shameful accusation against the present society. It is hollow and deceitful. It expects with fraud and polish to cover its lying villainy. Not only this, but it is vindictive and dangerous. It will strike back with weapons. Its constant repetition of deception through endless schemes of strategem and artifice has a pernicious effect on the morals of community who learn by it to be deceitful, to excuse their fraudulence and make callous their conscience through its example. In course of time this has a vicious effect upon mankind who can with difficulty resist the temptation to imitate. With the new system this temptation has fled.

Besides this, another enormous example is realized by the state. It does not need the great advertising industry on which, with so much and so constant cost, the competitive system forages for its gains. The labor of advertisement necessary to competition has been termed the waste industry. It engrosses nearly one half the domain of human activities. The amount of toil and material it consumes as an assistant or handmaid to deal, is incomputable. Wherever the pure non-competitive co-operations are in use it is found that this waste industry tumbles into disuse. It is not wanted; the flatulent puffing is found to be but idle wind; it has no effect but to exhaust energies and consequently drops into desuetude. But just in proportion as the competitive system uses and loses by patronising the advertizing system, by that proportion does the socialized industry gain; and in the course of a few years it grows into the manufacture, builds more and more to supply an increasing demand, receives better and better results, and finally becomes a paying concern, driving off the former competitors; and the state funds a part of its surplus to aid another enterprise of a different sort, in its system of general averages. By this means and no other can the workingmen get the full and complete product of their labor.

How does the army get its cheap provisions? Through the same power of non-competition. Aristotle railed on Plato because he had the sagacity to choose the non-competitive system as the basis of his Republic and to herald a fundamental truth by standing upon the giant shoulders of Socrates. It now turns out that while Aristotle was profound in the theory of development he was too little as a devotee of the competitive system to stand all the tides and ebbs of time; while the honey-lipped sage of the grove lives on forever, smiling to see his plan withstand the storms and wrecks of ages. But upon his

plan the provisioning of an army is direct from producer to consumer. No intermediary speculator is permitted. The army has its supply officers detailed rotatorily from among the soldiers. The detailed methods of this purveying are not told; but as all armies from that time and before, down to the present are the same, it is useless to waste language on the subject. What we desire to get at is the application of the same non-competitive purvey-orship for a city as that which is applied for an army. It is evident that if the city owns and operates the markets, keeps the middlemen out by law, transacts its own business directly with the farmers, brings the produce bought of them to its own markets, on its own railroads and employs its own people to do up and distribute parcels of goods ordered by citizens, that provisions thus ordered would be pure, the price would be less and the delivery prompt.

In a strictly moral sense, taking into account comparative justice or the justice due to masses over individuals, it is eminently right for government to send out its idle cutters and war frigates to bring coffees, teas, spices and fruits from foreign countries. This ought to be done even now. Other nations are glad to sign reciprocity stipulations making this possible. The government marine service is an idle and useless bill of cost. It is furnished and equipped with just the right force to thus make itself useful to the people. Instead of being paid by the enormous annual appropriations which feed thousands and sometimes millions from the hard earnings of those who labor, they should be made to earn their living. Instead of lounging about learning and practicing insolence, disseminating immorality and often provoking corruption and needless quarrels, they should be furnished work to make them useful. Here is the people's opportunity to set them at work. Let them go to the foreign

ports and bring to the people the good things of which millions are now deprived through the exorbitant tariffs demanded by speculating monopolists cunningly cornering these goods. The tea companies may thus very easily be brought to a stand and the people may be supplied at less than half the present rates. These companies have, in cases of shipwreck where their vessels went to the bottom, been known to dredge up the whole cargo and after spreading the soaked and damaged tea out upon matting to dry, to order it with all its grits and salt, put up in half-pound packages and then distributed among their numerous retail stores and "fixed" so as to sell for genuine among the people. Many a cargo has thus been sold, the monopolists realizing full prices for every pound of the tasteless wreckage.

So prodigious is the power of the provisioning companies that should any dealer attempt the work of supplying people with the staple articles, like tea and coffee, such enterprise would run great risks of being thwarted. If not by fair means he might perish by ways that are foul. As we have already shown, in speaking of government mills, they are armed with weapons. They might strike back. It would be a perilous job for any private person or persons to undertake. Let any individual attempt twice to bring into port for public supply, a ship's cargo to be sold at cost and it would probably never arrive. Such is the power of the provision rings that they would send their pirate ships to sink her down in mid-ocean; and there would not be a man of the ship left to tell the story. But governments already possess clippers, war frigates and a variety of rapid runners which they ought to keep constantly employed supplying the farms with guanos, the roads and streets with asphalts and the markets with coffees, spices and teas. They keep a full set of idlers, lazy and well messed, constantly on hand,

but fail to furnish work for them, leaving the provision and land rings free to impose extortions. Nothing less than the power of government can do this work. That power can send war frigates to Rio Janeiro, buy up cargoes, bring them to the ports wherever wanted, and portion them out at cost to the people. It has its own ships, its own sailors, its own officers and all things necessary for the business, ready made. This is the force to set at work. If it can bring coffees and spices it can bring all the rest, and solve the problem.

These transactions would be honest because rid of the profit incentive which in competitive deal adulterates our food and fixes extortions on their price. The true political movement embraces the decent and honest treatment of the laboring community both producers and consumers, who form majorities and this cannot be done under the competitive system. It belongs to the functions of social democracy. As yet, democracy has been little better than a complex bundle of theories; it here turns its attention to business.

Thus again, the people realize an opportunity to enjoy the full value of their labor. The system likewise offers a most excellent illustration of general averages. In the physical organism it is so arranged that when one member, like the eye, or any other of the organs of sense, fails, the other eye or whatever it may be, becomes sharper so as to partly cancel the loss. The camel's hump lends food for the beast of burden when on its journey through a desert where no other food exists. So our new application of socialism proceeds from this great law in nature, of compensations or general averages. The law of compensations is the natural, that of general averages the artificial application to political economy. It should be said of the camel's hump which feeds the beast on the arid sands, that it is nature's compensation; it should

be said of the political adjustment of averages to provisioning a city without using the middleman, that it is socialism. Yet there is a significance in the two applications which is coequal, though embellished with a simplicity that is beautiful; for it is gemmed with the novelty of rarity.

We are by no means unaware of the position that will be maintained by those engaged in the competitory purveyorship of food supplies, that we stand upon debatable ground. It seems attacked by a new system which, if it prove correct, would, like the invention of the linotype which annihilates the vast type setting business of the world, shut off the means of life from the mouths of millions. But the law of compensations, though it permit of one calamity, reverses the cruelty by furnishing labor for another class. The people who now furnish a city with food supplies are so numerous that their groceries and stands, their milk wagons and hucksters' booths occupy thousands of buildings, side-walks, stalls and market spaces, and the streets are kept in an uproar with the clatter of hoofs, the jabber of peddlers and the din of carts. Every thing is in a state of complicated isolation; each a separate skeleton. A thousand men, each by himself, are competing with one another as if in a furious fight. The gullibility of their customers is tested to the limit of cunning on the one hand, and of endurance on the other, and the vicious test of possibility is as severe and tyrannical as is the iron law of wages. As an amplifier of their savage competition they possess also a secret organization and what the individual cannot do in the line of coercion he combines to do by class laws and judicial favoritism.

But in the socialized method the compensations are reversed. The principle of general average works harmoniously all along the line. When one newly nation-

alized branch of business leaves its competitive grooves and becomes public, nobody reasonably expects that it is going to roll up a dividend the first year or the next. The state does not die. It can afford to be patient. An individual drops off the stage of time, unable even to transmit his methods to his children. So shortlived is he that his genius, his inborn aptitudes and powers of adaptation, though successful in establishing a business, which grows and while he lives commands admiration, fall with his decease and sink into nothingness and forgetfulness along with name and fame. It is the fatalism of isolated competition to die without the power to bequeath to society the holder's gifts. It is their fate to be lost to the world. The judgment against competition is death. Helpless, inanimate oblivion is its hollow sepulcher. Not so the social establishment which gladly profits by such genius. It places genius in crystal form, in an institution that does not die, but lives on forever. Thus any absorption by an undying institution of the business of a perishable individual, is simply a process for its perpetuation, that humanity may profit by the light of the past. Society, therefore, can well afford to wait for a time and make up the shortage entailed through vicissitudes attendant upon change, adjustment and inexperience; because time almost invariably shows profits and blessings to man who can well afford to average little shortcomings, and settle all by an appeal to nature's law of compensations.

It was a maxim of Feuerbach that "Money as a means, is to the man of the world exactly what God is to the religious or theoretical world—the source of all holiness and blessing." If the state can socialize the mines it can socialize the money. Of all the elements of danger that afford advantage to a few by which to oppress the many, nothing is so easily managed by the apt and gifted as the

ey power. This management is simple either way.
 on the people, who cannot be free without being cit-
 s in majority with complete control, give to their state
 power of issuing money, holding it in their treasury,
 ing and using it as their own, sending it out by law
 rate per caput determined on through legislation,
 guarding against any individual monopolizing its
 me or its use, that people enjoy a socialistic money.
 cannot see but that this management of money by
 state is as necessary a stronghold against oppression
 money holders, as a mine, a telegraph or a railroad.
 ne best and most thorough safeguard, against the
 ibly dangerous piratical aptitude of the money mon-
 ist, however, undoubtedly lies in the complete de-
 etization of gold and silver and the final and complete
 gation of them to the mechanic arts. We shall treat
 subject relative to need of the precious metals felt by
 trade a little farther on, confining this allusion to our
 arches after a means for escape. If the state issues
 legalizes notes bearing its stamp, thus becoming re-
 sible both for value and redemption it becomes what
 own as fiat money, or money that is *made by impera-*
order, or fiat of the people, out of nothing. The faith
 re people in the solidity of their treasure secured in
 r willingness to fight in its defense, is its only basis
 guaranty. The paper has no intrinsic worth. The
 e that is in it is a pure creation. Not so with gold
 silver which have an intrinsic worth, regardless of a
 ped endorsement of government. This is what has
 ntly endeared the term "fiat money" to a certain
 ly respectable branch of political economists whose
 ion is that metals are needed only in the mechanic
 and the term has become valuable to them as the
 word in the language exactly expressing the peculiar
 ning desired.

If no gold or silver existed in money what foothold would there be left for the now dangerous aptitudes and powers of speculation? The state controlling the output of paper and not recognizing intrinsic money, where lies this freebooter's chance? Are not his means of outdoing his less managerially gifted neighbor cut off? With gold as money he busies his wit conjuring probabilities, sequestering it in vaults and watching spider-like for a chance to devour some victim. So long as the people's money is made of gold, a large margin of chance remains open inviting the play of the peculiar aptitudes for speculation which some people possess. Gold offers them a fine leverage under the honest unwary, which they have a multitude of ways to take advantage of. Its manipulation extends all the distance from the pawnbroker to the monarch of finance. With gold for a basis of their operations they work better than with any other money to manipulate interest and can often secure two or three payments of it where with paper they can obtain but one. By a long-sighted sequestration of gold in their vaults, watching the foreseen events, they succeed in lending it out to governments, and thus get nations under a bonded indebtedness; and once in possession of bonds, they become masters, even owners of the people. Gold is thus an extremely dangerous factor of civilization. By having a strong leverage of gold at command these financial experts are able to use the currency based on it and issued from it, and can corner transactions, precipitate wars, forestall the market of crops, intrigue at elections, dictate nominations, improvise financial and business panics, dictate the proclamations of kings and presidents and in a word, rule and ruin the world. Ownership and management by society of money as a lubricating fluid among the wheels of business, and an utterance of a fiat form of it demonetizing and forcing the precious metals out into

the mechanic arts where they are greatly needed, would rid communities of these dangerous and often deadly hawks whose ferocious swoops are of latter years becoming epidemics.

This proposition appears as one of the points under recommendation in the Marx-Engels Manifesto of 1848, and is made mention of as a strong clause of scientific socialism in Dr. George Adler's history of early German labor agitations. It has been uppermost as a theme of many political economists in the United States for many years and through popular agitation it has achieved a bank note manufactory which several times saved the country from financial crises. It enters into the coinage of all metallic money into currency and the work done at the mints is under the direct supervision of government.

That the state can assume the utterance and control of money for a whole population and in the interest of any one thing, or of a principle, or for relieving a money famine or for any other purpose in the will of a people in common, is proved by a great number of instances from high antiquity down. Every historical example found shows that to deliver the monopoly of gold, silver or paper money into the hands of individuals under the competitive system is almost certain to cause periods of distress, secretly arranged by them to corner markets, blockade transportation and create alternating gluts and dearths, thus insidiously committing criminal treasons against the people. These may, in a certain sense, be classed as acts of brigandage, though tempered in laws which only mitigate the crime by a cunning refinement—a dangerous concoction, like morphine's deadly essence of the poppy. What ails the people is their ignorance and indifference; else, being the majority they would make the state which is their natural organization, as-

sume the making and the placing of their circulating medium. Any state can manage a large sum better for the whole people than an individual. As an instance of the perfect ability of a government to manage money for the people in common we have Jefferson's petted scheme of financial communism under the name of "United States surplus fund." In 1837, under President Jackson's administration the state of New York took out, for schooling, hospitals, and for various benevolent objects, over \$4,000,000 of the United States deposit fund. People brought up in the grooves of competitive finance stared at one another, shaking their heads as if some darkling terror was at the threshold of the financial edifice. Not so. This money is annually reported upon by the comptroller of the currency and every item is known. After fifty years it is seen that schools, hospitals and many other institutions are regularly and honestly receiving aid from the \$200,000 yearly inflow of this treasure's earnings.

The covetousness of individuals is so great that such an adjustment of this surplus is rare. It is only when persons bequeath sums to institutions at their death that anything similar occurs; but this is simply a conversion of competitive into socialistic money. The success of a government in making and using a common rather than a competitive form of money need no longer be considered debatable. The life of Thomas Jefferson is a brilliant illustration of this power. His great wisdom, based entirely in socialism, was what originated the United States surplus revenue funds for building up the country. It was a favorite theme of this statesman based on the law of compensations and apportionments, or what we here designate as general average. The government was to give out moneys from its surplus funds to be employed by the various states, for needful purposes. New

York got over four million dollars of it. Pennsylvania took three millions; Ohio two. Some twenty-six of the children states received portions of this money. Mr. Ed. G. Bourne has written a history of the surplus revenue of 1837, and school commissioner Eaton's speech furnishes another monograph explaining its good effects on education. Jefferson wanted, among the benefits to accrue from his scheme, to have a great national university created out of it. He was so engrossed in the necessity of education of the people as a sure, permanent safeguard against failure of the institutions in whose establishment he had devoted his life, that he caused the authorship of this national university to be inscribed upon his tomb. It was largely this president's plan to have the celebrated school land clause inserted in various statutes, whereby the great public school system, including the state university land fund was created and which has proved to be the most powerful and beneficent stroke of statesmanship and prop of democracy known to any age or history. It was all pure society ownership or socialism, and belongs strictly to the principle of general averages; since it has for its function the evening up of business transactions by purely communistical methods, in the interest of the general public.

All the records of the effects of the loan by government of the surplus fund to the state of New York show that the distribution of its earnings has been satisfactory in every respect, and it is especially valuable for schools. This surplus was given out by the mother government to the children states in their infancy, without interest and for perpetual use. The Blair educational measure, had it passed, would have been in conformity with the Jeffersonian plan. President Jefferson, in his second inaugural address said of it, that "In time of peace it would be applied for rivers, canals, roads, manufactures, educa-

tion and other great objects within each state." It is easily seen that railroads would have been among Jefferson's roads had such a thing existed in his day. Thomas Jefferson was a nationalist. Furthermore, Washington, Franklin, Paine, and Jackson were in accord with him; the latter carrying out some of his plans and all of them were massing powerful influence upon the mind of that masterly statesman, De Witt Clinton, who blessed New York with that socialistical artery of wealth and prosperity, the Erie canal. Jefferson's influence is still felt in the almost annual appropriations made by the United States government for rivers, harbors and many other purposes. Thus Jefferson, statesman and socialist, was a powerful exponent of the law of general averages and compensations.

Both Jefferson and Jackson advocated the idea of full government control of money rather than its private control by individuals or banks, or by banks partly sustained by governments. The desire of money corporations to secure the power of a nation as a backer to their banking business has been the force used by the great lords of finance of Great Britain and France. It is a symptom of the craving for power which we have fully explained in another place under the head of usurpation of socialistic institutions for the sake of fortifying themselves and thus perpetuating individualism, robbing the people and more strongly fastening the competitive system upon the world. France was at that moment establishing her so-called national bank. Alexander Hamilton, a foreigner, more French bourgeois than American democrat, was no socialist. The bank of England was a long time mongrel or hybrid, between the individual and the state in which nest of vultures the monstrous national debt was hatched and on whose gratuities a cormorant nobility gorge and revel. Jefferson who loved the people, foresaw in this

projected mongrel an issue whose sire would be the devouring financier, whose dam the plastic commonwealth—an ensemble of the sheep and the wolf, prurient for a taste of their own offspring. In his celebrated sympathy for the offspring he attacked the sire and his schemes of bonded indebtedness, and with Jackson's help, drove him back into his lair and the cunningly plotted usurpation of the American socialistic plant to competency finance and its slavish entailments has thus been thwarted and perhaps, defeated.

These two great statesmen, Jefferson the thinker and Jackson the warrior, struck out betimes against the notions of Hamilton, Ricardo and Nathan Rothschild, and became the advocates of a direct issue of money by government, in opposition to the national bank of Hamilton, an aristocratic affair, through which private moneyed corporations were to be assisted with prestige and power by and with the consent of the government, to plunder the people. Jefferson once wrote against the national bank, that "Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs. It is the only fund on which we can rely for loans; it is our only resource that can never fail us, and it is an abundant one for every necessary purpose."

This great struggle of the forefathers of the American republic was begun by Jefferson against Hamilton's hybrid, pseudomorphous national banks. The extremely dangerous power of this banking institution wherein money holding individuals were not only allowed, but actually upheld and assisted in establishing themselves and their aristocracy over a whole nation of people, was fought by Jefferson with great vigor. This far-seeing statesman was, fortunately for the American people and for the future world, placed in a position to back his theories with

deeds. His words of strenuous protest took effect on the mind of Jackson who was likewise statesman and socialist enough to see the immanent danger threatening his country, residing in the cunning aptitudes of a bank establishment based on privileges and pseudomorphous formulæ. He declared that: "If Congress has the right under the constitution to issue paper money it was given them to be used by themselves; not to be delegated to banking corporations." The wisdom of Jackson, whose wholesome veto in 1832 ultimated in driving the national banks from existence, is now seen and reassured in the tremendous popular effort to break up this rehabilitated and resurrected banking system whose managers in their pertinacious longings for power, took advantage of the civil war to get it reanimated for fresh evil.

It is worthy of notice that a great discussion has begun regarding intrinsic value. During the earlier ages of the world gold and silver were wrought into money, receiving the stamp and endorsement of governments as such, and have ever so continued. Dr. Curtius, in his monograph entitled *Wappenstyl und Wappengebrauch*, speaks of the high antiquity of metallic money. He explains its use as proved by inscriptions, so long ago as when the Indo-Europeans were selling their daughters in marriage for gold and silver coins.

The fact is, coined money as a medium of exchange or currency, has come down to us rooted in almost incredible prejudices of habit and tradition. How this happened needs explanation.

In the first place, gold and silver then as now, were, even in the mechanic arts, known as precious metals. A pompous consequence and overbearing aristocracy always clung to them and awed the very atmosphere about them. They whetted up a craving for circumstance, pageant and importance. They separated idlers from the work-

people, building the former up in favor and renown, mping the latter down into slavery, and were used as strong power to draw lines of demarcation between master and servant and thus maintain the taint of labor. s is their hateful power to-day. For this cause it is idly becoming an argument of labor agitators against its use as money at all; emphasizing the reasons why precious metals should descend from their overpowering dignity as money, into the mechanic arts, their natural function. From the early ages to the present it has tated the aristocratic taste to jingle gold. These were natural instincts of the competitive system during every lantic age.

But there is another and still more potent and excusable reason for gold and silver being used as money during the unsettled periods. As mentioned, they possess intrinsic value. If a business man, owning a large amount of property and employing workmen, be shut off from the ordinary circulating medium stamped as money by the government under which he lives, finds it impossible to obtain such money, he can issue his own currency in paper notes and so long as his property remains there, encumbered, these men in his employ will gladly take the notes as money. Being based on the property which is liable to the law for their value, they are good. Their use is further animated by the faith, honor and esteem which the people in the man and his property's power of redemption. Yet this is a fiat money. Now if we suppose that a greater than this man or single property owner, in the vast commonwealth of a people, be thus wanting a circulating currency or money, with which to pay workmen and transact business, should likewise issue paper money based on the solid merchantable value of its land, crops, manufactures, mines and buildings, we have exactly the same conditions as before. This proves that

- in point of good sense, the fiat money of the government is as good as the fiat money of the individual. In neither case is it based upon gold or silver. In both cases it is based on property. But while no objection whatever can be made against the individual, we hear a great turbulence against the government doing it. It is an innovation upon the traditions of ages. It is regarded as a menace to the habits and fixed notions of an immemorial antiquity and is lampooned and if possible suppressed by the combined powers of the metallic money owners, aided by the tenacity of habit, as if glued to tradition and prejudice. This, to a person standing off and regarding the phenomenon without prefixed judgment of his own, is astonishing.

But on closer inspection it is seen to possess a much more reasonable argument than this which we have presented. We refer to the origin of the tradition in favor of gold and silver. In the earlier times and down to a very recent day, monarchies, republics and other forms of government have been almost always in an uncertain and precarious condition. If a state in one section of the world was rich it was regarded by another with jealousy or envy, and lay at every moment in danger of being attacked and destroyed. The people had little faith in the solidity of their commonwealth. So long, then, as they felt an uncertainty in the stability of this commonwealth or property it would not do to issue paper money purporting to be based upon it. If they did so, a depreciation of such notes would immediately have cast the government into ridicule and thrown business into distress. The only thing to do was for them to possess quantities of gold and silver which contained an intrinsic value or a value independent, within itself; a commodity value of its own, equal to the promise stamped upon it; a value recognized at so much per ounce the

world over, wherever and under whatsoever conditions met with. This value holds good of gold and silver in every condition; whether of manufactured articles, nuggets or coins. Both individuals and nations can hide these away in times of danger. With such a money the old nations and powers were shielded, and could feel safe against the precarious vicissitudes natural to barbarous governments.

But the argument in our illustration of fiat money remains unimpaired when considered in an age of society existing in the great peace period of to-day. Neither Corinth, Carthage, Achaia nor Rome could ever issue a permanent fiat money in national bank notes whose stability and value were based solely upon their commonwealth. They were not safe enough themselves. Their people had no confidence or faith in them. The United States, however, is solid and enough permanently steadfast at present to undertake it. It should try the experiment with great caution, and for a time issue these papers experimentally, and in combination with gold and silver certified notes; and the people will thus preliminarily have an opportunity to test their faith and verify by legislation, their confidence in the sterling worth of their own homes and their own commonwealth. But in any case no more money should be allowed to circulate among the people except that issued directly by government and for which, government is directly responsible without any intermediary hand. This would stimulate pride in the citizen on the one hand and caution on the other which would create patriotism and international peace.

We now come to the foreboding argument of science, which exhibits gold and silver, in their turn, as in a precarious condition. It is believed by increasing numbers that deep in the earth gold exists in great quantities; and if the theory of the earth's crust lying on an internal

molten mass be true, this proposition appears not only possible but reasonable and highly probable.

We have shown that during the war period of the human race the precarious condition of the commonwealth was a good reason for having none but intrinsic money, or money issued on its inherent value as a precious metal. Theoretically the ancient metal was worth as much per ounce in a cane head or a shoe buckle as in a coin. We now propose to show that under the peace period gradually coming into the world as exhibited in the signs of the times, it is the reverse. The steadfastness of both gold and silver has suffered great inroads within the last century. Intrinsic value has been attacked by the discoveries of new beds in which it lies deposited. If we could find a mass of it in a solid form and as large as a mountain so that its supply should be proved inexhaustable and its quantity in the market only restricted to the quantity of labor applied, but a short time could elapse before it would be worth no more per pound than iron; for iron will weld, and in many of the mechanic arts it is better. Its practical value then, is really a factitious one, being based largely upon its scarcity. When abundance takes the place of scarcity, price is annihilated. Let us venture a suggestion. A theory in the schools of mining now obtaining some force is, that the earth's periph-
eric surface on which we live is a cooling crust swimming on a vast internal mass of matter in a state of fusion and that gold in indefinite quantities is one of the substances, deep under the surface, of which the inner mass is formed. Being heavy, and melted, it naturally sinks deeper than other substances. The way we happen to get it is, that once in a while, when there occur earthquakes and other seismic upheavals from a great depth, it is thrown upward to the surface where it lodges and cools in nuggets and veins or is caught and worn into

"golden sands" by the waters of torrents and rivers. This is given by some geologists as the scientific theory through which the more successful gold hunters secure their valuable finds. If this be true, the age of acquiring it has but just begun; and one may imagine a time when the golden stores shall be lifted in enormous quantities from their long hidden retreat. Should this occur, what will become of its intrinsic value? Thus as the war period was precarious against the faith of the people in their commonwealth, so the peace periods which develop science and powers of production may become precarious against the intrinsic values of precious metals used as money. Like almost everything unearthed by studies in social science, the order is reversed.

But it is seriously doubted whether any government has the ability to perform a duty so intricate as that of honestly and ably distributing its own self-made funds for the public welfare. The issuance of money by a nation instead of private banks is most felt in its cutting off from individuals all power of tyrannical monopoly in it. We have shown that this monopoly, by those who have the means and who are gifted with the peculiar commercial aptitudes, is extremely simple and alluring. A few men or a few banking houses can, with large sums at control, contrive schemes of vast dimensions against the people on whom, and on whose labor products they depend. Under the competitive order, they drift in the direction of wreckers and pirates. They can concoct swindles of an almost inconceivable magnitude, such as involve the bankruptcy and ruin of whole communities and populations. Their secret decisions may block legislation, control transportation, determine foreclosures, embargo commerce, shut off producers from consumers, decide corners, facilitate trusts, and work up panics and crises throughout the business world. Unhindered, they

can reduce such depredations to a science, covering their nefarious doings with the devil-work of hypocrisy and the artifices of plausibility; so that while in the work of devastation they have the smiling outside appearance of angels. An instance of the march of this deceptive and infatuating science of co-ordinating the commercial and financial aptitudes born in some men, into a power to oppress the innocent, came to the surface after twenty years of deception and cajolery in the famous demonetization of silver in 1873. To own and sequester silver as money was beyond their power. It was too bulky. While the united banks might be able to buy it, they could not easily handle it. Gold was only a sixteenth its bulk to the dollar and this they could handle and monopolize. Now to get the monopoly or full control of money was to get control of the vast business transactions of civilization. Control of business by a junto of the money power, selfish and devoid of enlightened instincts, meant the re-enslavement of mankind. It meant the conversion of modern civilization into an aristocratic power involving despotism. This might please monarchies, scrofulous with inbreeding and crumbling before the illuminating forces of knowledge, but the world had been too long in intellectual sunshine; and their attempt had the effect to arouse the prone nature of masses. Jefferson had enlightened them with his powerful entreaties to shun such a disaster. It needed, therefore, but to arouse suspicion of treason against the people to explode the scheme—a most fortunate event.

Such circumstances prove an excellent thing to those who desire their government to take control of money. It has a powerful effect in deciding the mass of citizens to demand unconditional ownership and management by it. Why? Because government is stronger than the individual or the group; because citizens have the control

of government and are watchful of their interests; because the valuable aptitudes by the monopolizers of gold can as well be employed by the government; because the state or national issuance of the people's currency would be democratic, not despotic; because by it, the workman receives the full value of his labor. By this means no one person or set of persons can possibly get control. The people who are voters appoint servants to make laws which they themselves are to ratify, and the treasons of individualism natural to the competitive system are impossible.

The state that can own and control its railroads, telegraphs, mines, manufactories and mills, can nationalize its education. Nearly all modern students of education have become convinced that private schools are a thing of the past. Not only do lines of competition disappear from the public schools, but such is the democracy that the rich or the great man's son can get no more recognition, with all his money and family prestige than the poor unknown boy, provided they are equally studious and well-behaved. But what emphasizes this is the fact that the tendency of such a democracy is upward. It grows more and more pronounced. Another suggestive manifestation is toward the adoption by the state or national schooling system, of the industrial principle by which the child learns how to work, and its still more suggestive sequel that the results of their work are gradually becoming a revenue.

But as in the public school everything is open and free to inspection, the old instincts of secrecy to conserve the mysticism of skill, disappear. The school is no longer competitive. Competition among the mysteries of skill has often proved an agent of darkness. It was competition that caused the loss to the world of many of the great arts and inventions. Through it the Phœnicians

lost their art of dying the celebrated red, azure and purple. It was through competition which causes men to keep secret their wisdom that they may profit by a monopoly of a special art which no other being knows, that the imperishable Babylonian bricks are lost. Through it the Chinese monopolized chinawares and Koster was prompted by it to hold secret his art of printing during his whole lifetime, lest it should be known and he should jeopardize his paltry gains. Every invention should be open to the knowledge of the world and the belittling secrecy that wrecks a thousand great conceptions should be brought out into the light, under conditions which accredit to originators not only honors and rewards but means to develop and make them a success. All these are to be received as functions of the great forth-coming educational system of nations. Public education though long tried in some countries, is a growing idea, and is developing in many directions. One of its very most cheerful manifestations is its disposition to apportion and dispense its public effort that all may enjoy the full results of their labors.

We now come to an application by our eudæmonists, of the much discussed and extremely difficult problem of the land. Marx and Engels wanted expropriation of land and in the celebrated Manifesto of 1848 they wanted the incomes from land nationalized. How shall it be done? We hold that land is not property at all, any more than air. Now in this socialistic state, and in agreement with Marx, the government, if it can own and manage a factory or railroad, can own and manage the land. The government is not property. It is common to all. If property at all, it is of a kind that is proper or common to all and not subject to monopoly of any sort. The manipulations required to work the land into a high state of agriculture are not more difficult than those necessary to

operate a manufactory. In addition to this there stands the mountain-like truth that individuals, taking the general average, do not succeed in land cultivation. Great capital, as that of a state, is found necessary to operate the culture of land, in order to bring it to a scientific condition that will yield the fullest product of which it is susceptible.

Much the most important reason why political government which is the true organization of labor, should assume the work of agriculture, is the fact that in the whirlpool of competitions, individuals, unequal to the task, fail continually. The farm lands of the whole world are in a wretched state. To depend upon nature to furnish water fortuitously and at hap-hazard for irrigation, is of itself, short-sighted and unscientific. It falls far behind the growth elsewhere in mechanics applied. But the empty-handed farmer embroiled in competitions, cannot artificially irrigate his fields. Power of great capital is wanted. Nature plenteously stores water for crops in lakes, pools and running streams, but man remains so stupid that he depends upon her precarious meteorologic freaks—a weakness which, in this pretended enlightenment, ranks behind the prehistoric Egyptains, Peruvians, Toltecs and Ceylonese, who had governmental irrigation and were never dependent upon the aerial elements for rain. Again, the lands are dying out for want of fertilizers. Yet nature has guanos, molds, sands, peats, mucks and fossil phosphates bedded in inexhaustable stores, which the speculating monopolist and typical commercial freebooter has embargoed. Instead of government owning these vast manure beds and sending their otherwise idle and useless marine floats to bring them at cost to points accessible to the lands, these commercial rings, by their dark and unfathomable lobby, inspire legislation which appropriates large sums of the people's hard-gotten

gains to procure scientific information through government surveys and statistical offices, utilizing fat-salaried experts that the great trusts and phosphate rings make no missteps but have their plunder well engineered in advance for them, by the social force that ought to own such fertilizers and convey them to the people at cost. There is always need of a suspicious, wary and jealous political labor party, alert against the cunning of these usurpations of the socialistic machinery, their only stronghold and their only hope. Nothing less than its drastic hand has power to hold and distribute the enriching manures and make them a source of that plentitude, so needful to the growing populations. That a government can send forth its ships to visit the guano and phosphate deposits and cause them to transport such fertilizers in abundance to their lands, is demonstrated in a great number of parallel cases. It is not a new thing. Instances of similar business operations abound in history. But we can illustrate with events more recent than history. Almost all the expeditions of discovery to the North Pole have been sent out by governments and the same ships that are being applied to such uses might be called in requisition here. Whenever science has need of ships to go abroad for purposes of taking astronomical observations, it is the government that furnishes conveyance. For stocking and even provisioning the natives of Alaska, the United States appropriated money and bought and transported reindeer from Siberia, establishing at Port Clarence a government reindeer stock farm which has proved a success. The revenue steamer *Bear* was used. The isolated farmer out in the competitive world is powerless. His lands are sun-dried, worn out and exhausted and while his harvests, scorching and withering in the summer heats need moisture and nourishment, he is too often found on his knees, invoking the very Heaven that is chastising him with this

desolation for his stupid and unscientific attitude in neglecting to use the abundance it has granted. He neglects to apply his powers of adaptation toward the national irrigation and fertilization of his land.

Following our scheme for an improved society we find a large proportion of the people now in the employ of their own government. As already shown, they invariably feel imbued with a new incentive to work and to be good citizens. They feel the same sympathies toward their social government that the co-operators feel for their provision stores; since they are all co-owners, having one common interest. The labor problem is solved. No strikes take place. When these industries were in the hands of individuals and companies, the people who worked, cared nothing about the welfare of the men they worked for, because they possessed no co-interest with them. They now possess their right as citizens, as voters, as shareholders; and their manhood becomes enlarged and developed proportionally with their increased advantages. This originates that peculiar feeling known as patriotism for which men are sometimes willing to lay down their lives.

We finish the skeleton of our plan of a life worth living by giving them the referendum. This is a right and practice of referring all laws and regulations proposed and acted upon by congress, parliament or legislature, back to the citizens themselves, for reconsideration and final ratification or rejection, through a national or sectional ballot or election. The result to the people is twofold. It fastens upon themselves the responsibility of law, and it causes an enormous and enlightening discussion which challenges and draws out the intellectual capabilities of the people in a manner impossible otherwise, and to a degree that transcends all other methods ever brought to bear which have been recorded in the annals of statesmanship.

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Calculating this method of mutual government from so extensive a scale it would require perhaps a century of struggle, and include an unforeseen amount of agitation, takes, experiments, vicissitudes of a thousand hues of every precarious sort, during which time the power wealth at command of individuals and corporations must work with all its hatreds and militant antagonism, bringing down, discouraging and hindering.

To prevent their complete success the agitation finds itself obliged to institute in self-defense the long heralded assurance of a progressive tax on incomes. It is one of the powerful theses of the celebrated Manifesto of 1848, published by Marx and Engels, and quoted by all critics of the new political economy. Before this, early in the nineteenth century, it was advocated by William Thompson in his remarkable work on socialism. It was recommended by the Chartists under that brave and able champion of human rights, James Bronterre O'Brien; and it is to-day as one of the prominent propositions of the social party platforms.

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We shall suppose that these advantages extend over many nations. Instead of being confined to limits, they embrace large territory and a full variety of mankind. In this range of the scheme all the aptitudes and powers of adaptation of the human family are included. The ingenious, the literary, the inquisitive, the enterprising characteristics, such as occasionally crop out among other phenomena of population, are here presented with an opportunity to succeed in all that which their thoughts and endeavors are worth.

There are cases known where men have done much work blind; but their misfortune generally is, that they have no capital but their labor and their blindness shuts them off from the hope of placing their useful powers upon the market. This is now furnished them by society as an imperative and legalized duty of the state. We hold that there is not a human being whether blind, deaf and dumb or lame—if not sick and suffering from such infirmity—whose labor cannot be placed so as to be of value at least four hours a day. The affliction which agonizes this class of citizens is not that they are inefficient, but that under competitive conditions where others are striving for the same employment, they are forced by their infirmity into a virtuous modesty that disqualifies them for getting it. It is the bully, to use the aptest term in the language, who, under competitive conditions is best able to succeed. If the blind man gets his place at all, it is through the influence of family or friends—a species of socialism. The immense variety of employment at command of government such as is here por-

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ing the necessary expenses of governments upon the poor.

The theory of a graduated tax on incomes and property would exempt all persons paying any kind of tax who have only the property of a home and a few necessary surroundings. It would make its first levy on the owners who possess more than they need for common use. It treats such property as a luxury. It lets a ten thousand dollar estate off with but a slight assessment on the last half of that sum; whereas a twenty thousand dollar property would pay something for the privilege of existing under the state protection. But it is not these small affairs that pay taxes under this theory. It is those of our dangerous millionaires who possess dividend paying stocks, non-interest bearing bonds, money in circulation and out of circulation, assets done up in many invisible ways and vast landed and other rent yielding property, amounting to millions; these are the ones required by this theoretical law of progressive tax, to pay assessments, on an ascending scale, or a scale of accelerating ratios, until the millionaire proves himself a robber of other men's creations, through the simple declaration of his inability to gratify his tax; and if he fail to do it, the property becomes subject to seizure and confiscation to society.

Under a pure dispensation of justice based upon the great truth that what men do not themselves produce, is, if held by them, robbed from those who do, this is equity. It marks and defines the lines which separate the robber from the citizen. It is argued against it that the powers of adaptation, as well as the ancient and revered traditions of inheritance, show just claim against it as an intolerable innovation. The venerableness of usage, the suasion of privilege, the prestige and power of law, the sanctity of religion, the frowns of force, the gullibility of an

gnorant and fawning populace, are the rich man's immemorial right, the poor man's accepted fatality, forever holding injustice on the throne; injustice is therefore just.

In pure truth, such as is recently and for the first time asserting itself, there is no argument in these excuses. A man born with an aptitude for amassing money pays nature nothing for this gift, and he should be paid nothing for its fruit. He is of no more value to society than the artisan, the farm laborer or the scavenger and his reward should be no greater. When he dies, she will not allow him to carry a groat's worth of his fortune with him beyond the tomb. She treats him in common with the poor. She is just. If she is just, what foolishness in the vaunted laws and infatuating traditions to cringe in obsequious reverence to customs that arrogate him a mag-nate when nature writes him down a simple citizen!

The theory of graduated taxation though only ameliorative and introductory, is not only just but it works beautifully in our fabric of general averages. It works in the interest of the masses against the classes, thus verifying the theory of comparative claims. In doing this it breaks down the stubborn power and aristocracy of a few and proves the justice of the modern claims of a majority; and by doing so, it bears down against the hypothesis, as old as antiquity, that primogeniture and paganism are twins, and full of the irony of a tyrannical falsehood. Under this theory, again, the workman is assisted in realizing the full possession of the products which reward his toil.

We have at length reached that stage of our argument where the principle of general averages inherent in the social state, is applied to universal use. The simple application of it to a small section may beautifully illustrate the methods of its machinery; but when we con-

template that we are treating a thing so vast as humanity, possessing an almost perfect similarity of wants, we find that partiality, the very evil we complain of, is here with its mountain of wrong, to accuse every line of our argument of unfairness. We therefore swell the canvass of our imagined painting and make it cover the world.

Throughout the world all things are socialized. Railroads, telegraphs, telephones, agricultural and manufacturing industries belong to society which employs its citizens. It was an asseveration of Franklin that four hours per day for each man in the world, if the product of his labor were evenly distributed, would be sufficient to fill the earth with plenty and make all rich. Under the system we are describing this prediction of a great statesman can be realized. It has been proved impossible under any other. Franklin and Jefferson both foresaw that it was impossible so long as the competitive system endures. All the French and English socialists—Saint-Simon, Godwin, Hall, Thompson, Fourier, Owen, Proudhon, foresaw it. The profound Germans and Hebrews whose nationalities have blessed mankind with such inestimable gifts as Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Weitling, Hess, Grün, foresaw it; and Italy foresaw it when she contributed a Buonarrotti and many another daring descendant from Etruscan blood.

But here we are, ushered upon a stage of possibilities by an enormous actual movement, yearly rolling up augmented votes to the philosophy, in fully a dozen grand divisions of the human race; and what yesterday was "Utopian" and a laughing stock, is to-day no fading dream, but a huge Belerophon astride a modern Pegasus, of startling clatter, chasing the sneering Chimæra through her clouds of smoke and doubt.

Under such a system of ownership by society, of lands, mines and electricity and all the implements of labor,

what might society accomplish in a single generation of time?

We answer that as the method of labor is metamorphosed from the competitive to the collective, so is the estimate of worth changed from property to person. The aged idea of property drops into its normal place and human life ascends to the summit of its value. This is the first revolution. It is just; because labor, now recognized as the only source of values, can ascend to its true dignity by the simple self-consciousness that it can reconstruct all things known as property in ninety days. It could not make a great state building out of blocks of stone of large dimensions, but on an average, the conditions perfected as we have described, and reduced to the science of which they are susceptible, labor could remake the hand-made things of the world in ninety days. This itself affords a picture of the inflated estimate of property which prevails. But neither labor nor pain nor the tears nor the grief of the stricken nor the moans from lighted homes can recall a departed spirit to its precious life. What a travesty on sense; what mockery of reason; what contradiction of truth, to schedule feelingless gold or rattels made only to assist and amplify enjoyment, and think an unconscious auxiliary that serves this mysterious nerve-gem of Heaven's unlocked jewel-box, is a nobler, higher, worthier thing than life! Besides, and suppressing the anger which overflows from contemplating this absurdity of the competitive system, we may resume that when people build things for themselves, under the second incentive to labor which is afforded them as citizens in this new state, the work will no longer be done by contract, and slighted and botched for purposes of selfish profit, as now, in competitive deal. It will be perfect. The sterling qualities of More's island home return and labor product assumes its value and receives its appreciation and honor.

template that we are treating a thing so vast as humanity, possessing an almost perfect similarity of wants, we find that partiality, the very evil we complain of, is here with its mountain of wrong, to accuse every line of our argument of unfairness. We therefore swell the canvass of our imagined painting and make it cover the world.

Throughout the world all things are socialized. Railroads, telegraphs, telephones, agricultural and manufacturing industries belong to society which employs its citizens. It was an asseveration of Franklin that four hours per day for each man in the world, if the product of his labor were evenly distributed, would be sufficient to fill the earth with plenty and make all rich. Under the system we are describing this prediction of a great statesman can be realized. It has been proved impossible under any other. Franklin and Jefferson both foresaw that it was impossible so long as the competitive system endures. All the French and English socialists—Saint-Simon, Godwin, Hall, Thompson, Fourier, Owen, Proudhon, foresaw it. The profound Germans and Hebrews whose nationalities have blessed mankind with such inestimable gifts as Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Weitling, Hess, Grün, foresaw it; and Italy foresaw it when she contributed a Buonarrotti and many another daring descendant from Etruscan blood.

But here we are, ushered upon a stage of possibilities by an enormous actual movement, yearly rolling up augmented votes to the philosophy, in fully a dozen grand divisions of the human race; and what yesterday was "Utopian" and a laughing stock, is to-day no fading dream, but a huge Belerophon astride a modern Pegasus, of startling clatter, chasing the sneering Chimæra through her clouds of smoke and doubt.

Under such a system of ownership by society, of lands, mines and electricity and all the implements of labor,

what might society accomplish in a single generation of time?

We answer that as the method of labor is metamorphosed from the competitive to the collective, so is the estimate of worth changed from property to person. The aged idea of property drops into its normal place and human life ascends to the summit of its value. This is the first revolution. It is just; because labor, now recognized as the only source of values, can ascend to its true dignity by the simple self-consciousness that it can reconstruct all things known as property in ninety days. It could not make a great state building out of blocks of stone of large dimensions, but on an average, the conditions perfected as we have described, and reduced to the science of which they are susceptible, labor could remake the hand-made things of the world in ninety days. This of itself affords a picture of the inflated estimate of property which prevails. But neither labor nor pain nor the tears nor the grief of the stricken nor the moans from blighted homes can recall a departed spirit to its precious life. What a travesty on sense; what mockery of reason; what contradiction of truth, to schedule feelingless gold or chattels made only to assist and amplify enjoyment, and think an unconscious auxiliary that serves this mysterious nerve-gem of Heaven's unlocked jewel-box, is a nobler, higher, worthier thing than life! Besides, and suppressing the anger which overflows from contemplating this absurdity of the competitive system, we may resume that when people build things for themselves, under the second incentive to labor which is afforded them as citizens in this new state, the work will no longer be done by contract, and slighted and botched for purposes of selfish profit, as now, in competitive deal. It will be perfect. The sterling qualities of More's island home return and labor product assumes its value and receives its appreciation and honor.

This is because the workman who performs service will do his work well. The system is reversed as the incentive is reversed. A man who, under the competitive or any other system, when society creates or opens a new bureau for a new and special object, works his appointment as director of that office, is generally not the right man for the place. In the scientific allotment based on correct apportionment of aptitudes, it would be an outrage, We might say further that it would be impossible.

The right man gravitates to the right place by the law of averages and apportionments, and without extra reward; since there are no incentives of self-exaltation such as under competitions manifest themselves in form of authority, crave of salary, petty inflation and specious consequence arising out of it, and the excuse which comparative glory yields, to browbeat the modest ones and intercept and defeat their adaptive faculties. As it is, the right one seldom gets it. Being the real worker he lacks both the boasting propensity and immodesty. He cannot push himself ahead. He has neglected to join any great secret society whereby, with his dues kept paid, and glittering among the influential, he may secure pledge and prestige to boost his interests. He does not gyrate around a shrine nor is he seen cavorting among the jockeys of mutual admiration. He is too worthy to exist in the double-faced world, too noble to truckle to the tricks of competition. The fatality of these honest tactics is that he is ruled out, and some pot-house politician or paper veteran assumes and ruins the office. So it is that the institution intended to aid the laboring population is deprived of its true functions by the apter one who usurps its power, cheats his constituents, turns it into a mill for grinding out falsehood with which to perpetuate the competitive rule—a clear case of usurpation of the enormous power of socialism.

The fact is, that it is only through the great plan we have presented, whereby society takes charge of the human family, that the family which, as a social microcosm is ruined by competitive arrogance, is brought back under the rules of a socialistic state. The microcosm becomes the cosmos, the epitome the universality. It immensely simplifies and reduces us to the dominion of one rather than of two sets of laws. Ulpian who is known to have studied the labor unions of his day, to have noted the laws on which they were based, and to have seen the microcosmical government of the family, lays it down as a law which Justinian records in the Pandects, that what is common right is public right; whereas private rights are confined to individuals, and simplification consists in making the first answer for both. According to this, private right is engrossed by, and absorbed into the public. In this manner the family which is the popular form of a social microcosm, is brought into a condition common to the socialistic state. The economy is incalculable. It simplifies and reduces our double-functioned competitive system within the dominion of one, and no longer of two sets of laws. Ulpian's theses for all who are born free, forcibly instruct that the law of the commons, the competitor and the family, should become the law of the nation which is humanity; and now that humanity after nearly seventeen centuries, has wriggled out of slavery so that all are born nominally free, this beautiful, far-reaching and applicable law rehabilitated by the great jurist from the Twelve Tables, looms up before the socialist agitator as a guide and guardian to his propaganda.

Based in a right of the common law of nations, the authority of Ulpian and the sanction of this great modern movement, society distributes on a large scale the labors and the aptitudes of the human race. The immense con-

tribution this will make to happiness, as accessory to liberty, we reserve for another place, and confine its argument to the equally valuable advantages the plan presents for health and old age.

What might, with application of every available expedient, be added to bring about a realization of the sum of human happiness? In the days of religious bigotry, when priestcraft could suppress mental development by canting of life as a gross existence and of earth as a place of probation, it was a perilous question. It is so no more. Men are boldly and seriously studying their welfare. A French statistician brings us a report of his observations on the quantity of material required and actually used by one man during fifty years. He also gives the number of days he worked, the amount and expenditure for recreation, the time occupied in sleep, the distance walked to and from this labor and for other purposes, the number of meals he had eaten, the quantity of meat, fish, vegetables and eggs he had consumed, together with the gallons of various kinds of fluids. This statement may be used as a basis to calculate the expenditures of an average lifetime. On looking over the figures and estimating their cost at rates for which they might be furnished by society under the plan of nationalization or collectivism, averaged in the scale of equities as herein set forth, we are astonished at the littleness of cost of the means of existence. Nothing is plainer than that men will find life extremely easy under such a system; and once fairly put on trial, nothing is more certain than that there will speedily follow a general rally of all mankind who live by labor and do not seize its product as the spoil of competition, to endorse its science of economies as the ground plan of a diviner civilization. And it is this and this only that can take by the hand the African, the Polynesian, the Malay, the Mongolian and the Indian—toilers who possess little

faculty for progress—and show them the ways of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let us now explain how and why we need their help; and show our reader how with their consent to a geocyclic right of way, it can be done.

The earth is diversified with vale and mountain, river and lake, prairie and undulating plateau. The ocean is set with fertile islands, emerald with multiform vegetation. There are capes, peninsulas, rock-ribbed ridges and promontories. The far north and south furnish icebergs and frigid seas often swarming with fur animals and full of arctic life. The gems and precious metals have but commenced their inexhaustible yields to labor. The plateau heights of the tropics with crystal reservoirs and tumbling rivers invite a countless population. The possibilities of the yet unexplored are silently beckoning to stifling men, like beasts, fighting and competing below in ignorance of these many-featured climes. There are spots where consumption is unknown. There are anti-malarial hills and tables where sickness is rare. Terebinthinate seaboards, keys and tortugas cover millions of square miles offering their balmy breath to invalids of many maladies. Occasionally nature presents us with exquisite forms in landscape, and alternates them with waters and pebbled beaches and flower-gemmed groves enchanting as the mind-pictures of paradise. Varieties beyond description deck this earth of ours and even outdo the typical myths of the ancient theogony, thrusting aside with the golden realism of a modern geography the intangible structures of Hesiod and Apollodorus.

Yet what is man doing with his deceitful and insolent competitive system, but mock and slight the courteous invitations of such a bounteous nature? She spreads before him these resources of happiness and asks him to come and partake and flourish. Man is too ignorant, too

preoccupied in his low and sordid system of life to turn the bent of his aptitudes and powers of adaptation to acceptance and enjoyment of this offer. He lives in the mud-lanes of miasma. His villages stud the worn lands of immemorial time and he is too mean to irrigate or to fertilize them with other than the blood which flows from strifes. Rather than build his cities upon the hills where consumption, fever and cholera do not intrude, they lie along the malarial swamps and fetid lagoons which he is too indolent and degenerate to drain and purify. Sooner than construct as did the ancient Incas and Ceylonese, indestructible reservoirs of water with irrigation tubes for artificial moisture, he trusts to the Ouranos and the vaulted dome of Heaven for water from the waterless sky, mocking God with a superstitious faith, and nature with unscientific deeds. Instead of reaching out the hand of fellowship to his brother man and invoking liberty, equality and fraternity, he struts off, puffed with self-consistent egotism and betakes himself to the clandestine shadows of a competitive career wherein the "fittest" survive and the millions perish. And this is his political economy! Finally, when the victim of his aptness in these gambling abodes of chance cries out for a refuge in collectivism, a solace in mutuality, man turns against him his engines of force, suasion and scurrility and lampoons, wheedles, or drags him back to his primeval squalor.

In the face of this presentation of what competition is, ever was, is doomed to ever be, has no inherent power to escape from, and is daily sinking into, as in a bottomless pit, we feel ourselves excused from heeding the stereotyped sneer or the disconsolate wag of our censors if we set our wholesale socialism as blocked out, upon the hills and pleasant slopes which nature has designed for it to occupy.

The Capital at Washington should be torn up from its

double miasm of Potomac catarrhal fever and worse infectious land and real estate rings that have corrupted the moral atmosphere with the sickly effluvia of their lobbies. When the conscript fathers planted the city here it was in the nation's center. But Rome outgrew the den of the wolf that suckled the king and was glad to transplant from the Tiber to the more charming shores of the Bosphorus, in a geographical center of her dominions. It is not an idle fancy but a stroke of wisdom with many an argument, and of statesmanship with a mighty following. Already, as at Rome, the hideous money power is settling like an incubus over the city of Washington, Franklin and Jefferson. Like the scaly boa of Pliny and Suetonius, stealthily crawled within the gate, with recurved fangs and greedy appetite, it coils to spring upon and constrict and swallow the unwary children of this nation. To get away from a den where the statesman grows rich on his salary and the people must live by their wit is the enigma that may soon invite discussion. Move the capitol away from environments that are fetid and morally vitiated by the tricks of speculation which involve legislative appropriations of public money to enrich the spoiler and which inveigle your statesmen into his vile collusion. Quit the unhealthy waters from the sewers of the cities and towns above. Leave the malarial agues behind. Put your city upon one of the delightful plateaus in some range-ribbed center of your vast confines, where peaks and valleys lie smiling over-against each other and anti-febrile zephyrs and suns embrace your accountants with thrills of vigor and longevity. Go back to the red man from whom you robbed this paradise. Learn from him to let no Ananias covet a square yard of the social commonwealth on pain of the bolts of lightning. Screen your choice and selection and make it secure from meteorologic and seismic disturbances by guarded and prolonged observations.

Honor your patriot founders by taking along with you their relics and bones and let them be no longer disgraced nor the nation disgusted by a ring of speculators whose unique patriotism constrains them to stand guard at the sacred memorial gates demanding of each pilgrim and crusader an awe-inspiring fine of fifty sous admission. Checker your Columbia a hundred miles in all directions with society-owned electric passenger chariots, and shoot them from every station and all the offices, into the vales, past springs and mineral fountains, groves and grottoes, along lake shores, over foaming rivers, babbling brooks, up into the ozone of the crags in the sky. Why, dame nature has blocked out these paradisaic eudæmonias in abundance and offers them to you in the rough. And now that your men of genius and of aptitudes have invented and constructed all these engines of rapid transit and cry out to be permitted to move you, bag and baggage to those laughing retreats which promise a rest for the weary, you will not go! The many-colored wild birds, sole inhabitants that people those spots, invite you with song more delicious and plumage more beautiful than is heard and seen in your mal-positioned locality, but you prefer the croak of the crow and the twit of the quarreling sparrow borrowed from the battle fields of Europe and other songless monarchies of a worn-out world. It requires no stretch of imagination to perceive that the big republic can and ought quickly, before the foreign land-grabber has parked these regions out for his lordship, to send a competent commission to look this subject up. It would delight the sister state of Mexico and do more than war is able to accomplish toward achieving sisterly love and union.

But it is time for us to descend from this digressive flight to resume our course. The flight would not have been taken but for a pressing need of change to some

more brilliant center, where intellect, purer and more enlivening, in an air more life-prolonging among the sunny hills, tumbling cataracts, natural scenes and national parks, can rehabilitate, and emerge clear and no longer contaminated by the pestilential breath of speculation, fraud and treason.

Let us build up our eudæmonia. Saint-Simon was hooted at because he suggested the cutting of interoceanic canals. Where are his censors now? We may be likewise scowled upon, but we suggest a greater and more costly scheme for nationalizing labor and enriching its possibilities. The destruction of the forests of the great lake system of North America—the most gigantic in the world—is resulting in the lowering of their surface and navigation is threatened by shallows that stop the larger craft. The few source rivers are diminishing. More water is wanted in the Saint Lawrence. Five or ten feet more of depth would float ocean steamers. The Saint Mary's Strait and the rivers Saint Clair and Detroit want double the quantity of water now in their channels. How remedy the evil? By turning the great torrent of Nelson's river into Lake Superior. The vast drainage of the fruitful wheat and stock region between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, with a watershed of nearly five hundred thousand square miles, pouring its myriad floods into the Winnipeg, in turn to be dumped into the frozen Hudson's Bay, must be turned into Lake Superior. A costly work it is true, but as the comparative altitudes admit of it, it can be done. No mere company need apply. The work transcends its powers. Collectivism alone can do it. By one single ditch, this vast watershed, embracing the rivers Saskatchewan, Q'Appelle, Assiniboine, Winnipeg, Rainy Lake, Red, Mouse and a hundred lesser ones, is turned into the great basin, thus supplying both the lakes and their outlets with from five to ten feet more

depth of water and creating a majestic river, the longest if not the largest on the planet, and sufficient to float great steam and sail ships from foreign ports to Chicago, Duluth, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, and a thousand towns.

America will see the time when it can no longer afford to let this vast and valuable marine resource rush down the worthless Nelson to be buried in the dreary arctics.

One asks, how surmount the insurmountable? Between those two lakes there rise great ledges a thousand feet.

Nonsense! Social labor knows no paltry impediments. Those very forests, rocks, mucks, ores, sands and gravels will prove valdable wood, quarry and fertilizing resources which socialism knows how to ship to its innumerable public buildings, bridges, levees and river and harbor improvements on a scale of colossal economies.

Society now possesses the social system of political economy. It owns all the railroads, electric and steam transmissions. It owns the mines, the river, gulf, lake and ocean lines. Travel is reduced by law to rates which are next to nothing. Transfers from shop to shop, factory to factory, mine to mine, office to office and farm to farm are free to employés. Industries of various kinds worked by society on the direct system, produce all the needed material of life without contractor or middleman. The great waste industry of advertising is no more. The muscle and brain absorbed by the competitive world to maintain it, are in use in society under better pay, shorter hours and kinder treatment, contributing a vast amount which by swelling the quantity, diminishes the hours of labor according to schedules of general average.

The world now for the first time offers a permanent place for every workman. We have already explained that even the blind have some aptitude at which they may be useful. We can now show the student of collectivism where these places are. What is possible for the

blind man is also possible for the blind woman; for the deaf and dumb; for the lame, the deformed, often even for the demented, and sometimes, if known to be within the limit-lines of actual benevolence, the insane. Hundreds of thousands now misplaced and pining in asylums or indigent institutions or retreats of senectitude or even jails, rejoice in an allotment with the common whole where no distinctions are allowed to exalt or degrade.

Vast factories, approached by railways and sometimes by water lines from every point of the compass, and even by the prophetic aerial engines of conveyance, are merrily humming in the anti-malarial ozone of mountains, the terebinthinate plains and sunny slopes from over the Carolinas to the Rockies and Cordilleries, down along the Andes, across to the Nile and Congo lakes, heights and watersheds, among the plateaus of Madagascar and along the scenic climes of the Urals and Himalayas. All healthful and inviting regions of the earth are specked with the works of business activity and the roads, rivers and seas are bearing to and fro the work hands of the world to do at once the manifold duties of heightening pleasures, curing ills, and contributing means of life for humanity's supply. The world has become a paradise. Its cholera breeding sinks have been cleansed, deodorized and purified. The germs of yellow fever and scourges of every kind are discovered and their sources cut off. Drudgery is supplanted by attractive usefulness. The incentives to idleness and crime have disappeared. Ignorance is banished. Politeness, affability and respect tone and make arriable all the avenues of social intercourse. The coarse acerbities and the maladies of mind and body that ever characterize the competitive system have been outwitted by science and are now unknown. The folly of war has taken wings.

"Russia" says Stepniac, "is not European enough to be competitive." So much the better for this philosophy of equilibration of aptitudes and powers of adaptation. The barriers to socialism in Russia will be so much less to break down. These barriers are already disappearing with the growth of the theory of scientific adaptation. It is in that land of the *Mir*, where competition could not get a foothold, that millions are earliest ready for it. Already they are practicing the governmental theory and are now ready to go farther and realize the full product of their labor.

The first argument presented by those objecting, to defeat this scheme is to throw it into ridicule. All ages and many climes have produced their mundane paradise. But literature has exhausted itself with hideous descriptions and scurrilities against it. Yet the fact that it lives on and waxes dearer in the hearts of humanity proves that it is a growing phantom, struggling on lines of plausibility, necessity and science. That it is bound to come, is already coming, has hove in view, is demonstrated in the foreshadowed admissions of most writers on political economy; and it has obtained a foothold on probabilities just in proportion as Ricardo and Bastiat recede into the oblivion of their stubborn, moribund dogmas. It yet remains that some of the main objections should be explained away.

One of the principal of these objections is, that nobody can realize the full product of his labor. It is said that the jeweler who makes watches cannot live, but would starve to death, even if he realized unhindered, the entire product of his labor. A statistician may collect facts which prove great truths or errors, and so important as to cause enactments by legislative bodies, enlightening the wisdom of nations; but he could not exist for a day upon the dry pages of his figures and is obliged to trust

others for his daily bread. The machinist may design, construct and run a locomotive and although its inward mechanism and outward symmetry are monuments of skill and patience, yet he turns to the farmer, the miller and the baker for food. Even the farmer and the miller are obliged to exchange their products with the clothier for their raiment and the builder for their shelter, or they would die.

We answer that all these things are adjusted by the law of compensations under the natural head of general averages. The beast, bird and plant pick from the lap of nature their living almost without recourse to this law. Man with his competitive system has recourse to the law but everywhere it is only the imperfect, half-way form of exchanges, resulting from a merely abstract use of mind. Mind has never been refined to its powers and possibilities of political economy which this really is. It has never properly reasoned its economies. It has ever been thwarted by the speculative, selfish incentives. Human intelligence has gyrated and raved, brutally smashing, killing and destroying. This thinking beast with a demi-human application of intelligence to the great natural law of compensations belongs to the competitive system. Is he yet far enough advanced for socialism which builds on mind in its concrete form? A half of the great outside world is quarreling, nagging and underbidding the other half. A constant conflict is raging. As fast as things are created by labor, other things are torn down. Whenever a structure is built the joints are loose, the timbers rotten, the cellars moldy, the roofs leaky, and worthlessness in general characterizes every part. How can the world advance under such a system? Can there be other than stagnancy amid conditions where conflicts rage and turmoils beset the communities on every hand? Wars, tumults, conspiracies and combines aggravate and

torture civilization. Progress can proceed only by a slow and sickly tread.

Under competitions and contrarities like these it is almost impossible to realize a true system of general averages. Anything that disturbs the free flow of reason must intercept the outworkings of the law of compensations. It is nevertheless sometimes used with much economy by competency concerns. If a man steps on a street car, he pays as much for a ride of half a block as for one to the extreme end of the line albeit that distance may compass half a score of miles. It saves the companies the trouble and expense of ticket offices, stations and all the concomitant extra perplexities of business. It is a scion cut from the post office and is therefore a borrowing from the economic plan of Franklin the first great American postmaster general. It is Franklin's sturdy common sense. It is socialism and that is common sense. It will not stop but is destined to proceed until it is applied world-wide to transportation of every sort, whether of goods, messages or human beings.

We have held all through that the pure concrete, the only form of reason which is competent to work on lines of cause and effect, is that which has built up this fabric of socialism so far as it has progressed. The reason why the world's political economy still drags and trails through its competitive environment is, that mind remains too low; its incentives are abstract, unfinished, and subservient to impulse. It still careers in realms of hazardous empiricism. It is still the self-sufficient stripling of egoism and unless it bursts away from the environment which enchains it, nothing can be expected of it; for competition is a failure.

We have a right, then, without further analysis of these phenomena of mind, to spread out our socialistic state in the form marked out; and we are now prepared to treat

the examples of the jeweler, the farmer and the accountant. In the competitive system the man who makes hats or shoes is forced to sell them to the best advantage he can, but he is liable to be taken advantage of and ruined by the dealer. He has only the one aptitude of the mechanic, and is unskilled in the tricks of the trade. Being alone, the buyer profits by his helplessness and is sometimes able to reduce him to misery. This is by no means realizing the equitable stipulations of the law of compensations.

In the socialistic system society claims this product, assumes its sale or exchange for either goods or money, and he, being a part of that society, is saved the dangerous intercourse with the dealer. In other words, he himself becomes the dealer. As a creator of the world's good things he comes by right of membership, in possession of home and plenty with recognized honors. If his strength prove too delicate for the atmosphere and surroundings, he is offered free transport to any part his fancy or his physician may recommend. Experience and polish are concomitants of interchange, and civility and grace which follow these make him an ornament to society. The same is true of the farmer. The statistician and historian, the geographer and naturalist, are treated to the same advantages, and their aptitudes are invited to expand while their products which are thus brought to the knowledge of their fellow men are endorsed without contention and used for what they may be worth. Liberties and inborn faculties, so often curtailed by competition, are thrown open to free development. The new environment lifts mind out of competency trammels. The full products of labor are realized by each because the distribution is impartial and just. Whatever may be said of one, whether person, profession or trade, applies equally to all.

But it will be asked how this system of general averages is ever going to bring about the condition, so long hoped for and so often alluded to, of guaranteeing, not only the right of existence to all, which Malthus denied, but also the enjoyment of an equivalent to the full product of what they create. The answer is, that under the rule of so-called free competition it is impossible; it is only possible with the social state.

We have already adduced many arguments to prove how impossible it is as things now are. Men cannot eat gold watches nor dwell in the lore of their pen products, nor sleep among the throttle valves, whistles and steam boilers of their locomotives. These things are good, but as sustainers of life they are good for nothing. Nor can the agriculturist live without clothes nor the weaver and spinner without the viands of life. This problem, even in the competitive system has always been left to the law of compensations. And a miserable failure has come out of it. Poor storm-draggled man has tugged at it long enough. If, by force of his concrete reason he rises and assumes that pitch of daring which floats him upon the debated slopes of collectivism as we describe it, it will not be the first time that a moribund philosophy, pelted afresh with the recalcitrant hoofs of its own mule, has tested all the irony of sarcasm to break him down. He answers the problem with an explanation of his newly found system of general averages from the wide and universal, and no longer from a petty and narrow scope.

A society which owns and operates the implements of labor will make nothing it does not want. Want, then, or need or requirement, is the first impulse. Thus we have the old system reversed which continually chatters about supply and demand. In socialism it is demand and supply. Already the age, having reasoned itself out and beyond its old lines of speculative supply with its great

waste industry in advertisements, has opened up the new demand that he who works shall have the full value of his labor. It has begun to comprehend a system of general averages by which this full value may be allotted him. Of our scheme of a political socialism where society owns and operates the means of life we have said that industries, reciprocating with one another, are established for all branches of business which society requires. The individualism that once assumed and drove them, no longer exists. The cares and worry which before drove men to an early grave are shouldered upon the state, and the mere work of operating such industries becomes a recreation. It has lost its drudgery. All the products of labor are ordered by society, the quantity graded to the need. The demand comes first, the supply follows; again reversing the old conditions which, by their advertisements, now useless and abolished, produced a forced demand for objects of profit. Statistical commissions report on what shall be the probable demand, and legislation determines and regulates supply. Thus there is no waste from overproduction, no famine from under-supply.

Now with these fundamental facts outlined, it is easy to understand that the exact amount or its equivalent, of what each one produces, is received. But as we say, a goldsmith cannot eat his gold, nor the farmer dwell in his wheat, nor the builder clothe himself with bricks and mortar; and it must, therefore, be the scheme of general averages which society assumes, as the common distributor for man as mankind.

Here we perceive the true function of this great element of collectivism. The goldsmiths make no more than just enough; builders only build things for those who need. They manufacture, cultivate, build none but the best. What they produce is not for the wastes of chance which attend speculative enterprises. It is no longer for

the blindfold lottery of fighting competitions, bragged up and lied about on one hand and discounted and depreciated on the other; no longer held for a rise and cornered for a squeeze in the fortuitous ravings of speculation such as now make earth a hell. No. The turbulent period of reason, with its abstract and foamy incertitude is passing away and is giving place to a great calm in which mind in its purified and collective form, may at last assert itself and assume control.

Under concrete reason then, and no other, can a system of general averages come into the world; and its advent is a matter altogether too serious to admit of being influenced by the mad rivalry and scowling covetousness of a departing competitive system based on an abstract development of sense.

We now begin to see how easy it is to make a distribution of things created by these workers. We can see at a glance, after studying the system of production for society wherein man is mankind, wherein he is equal, unchallenged, and no longer a wages slave, how he may receive an equivalent to the full product of his labor. There being enough for all, no waste and no partialities in distribution, every one receives enough and nobody either desires or dares withhold it from him. As no one can take his hordes with him to the grave, and no one wishes to accumulate what would lie a dead-weight on his hands, and as society has taken upon itself the responsibility of ordering and dispensing what the individual has done so badly, the good things of life come profusely, averaged over the whole of humanity by the simple and harmonious law of equivalents and equitable compensations.

We shall not trouble the reader with the usual string of details such as ruin and render whimsical the writings of our eminent predecessors. We are willing to be con-

tent with this outline and leave the details to practical experience and common sense. We hold this to be the sensible way to leave the problem of general averages to the student. Every writer who has tinkered with the minuter details of these theories has spoiled the permanent philosophy by bald, untenable idiosyncrasies which do nothing but bedim the valuable with sand-gusts of speciosity. This plan-smearing process is as old as the history of dialectics. Plato pictures Socrates on a day-walk with Phædrus, to the shades of a plane tree on the Ilissus, where all day long their theme was love. With Socrates as with Christ, love was a noble sentiment and it embraced all that we have written in this book; but the old Greek, with his analytic brain plunged down into his depths so low and with so little modesty and so overdrawn an idealism that nothing but the modern student's bungling knowledge of that classic tongue and his excused presence from the fair, can save him from expletives that would land the dismal old defender of scurrility in Hades. Tertullian and Athenagoras spoil some of their best apologies. Procopius is charged with mutilating his standard histories by saying too much in his posthumous Anecdotes, albeit they honestly reveal many a rascality of his emperor and his queen which ought to be known. More, whose Utopia is still so true to our rising political science, stultifies it in a hundred places by injecting absurd inconsistencies which will never be followed and which spoil the grace and harmony of its reading. Babeuf, with his realism and his deep, and as it turns out, correct principles, astonishes us with his squeamish condemnation of all philosophy, poetry, romance, painting and sculpture, "except by way of relaxation." This stigma on Babeuf, it is true, is mostly a gratuity of the encyclopedias. An early guillotine cut him off from the power of explanation in self-defense.

We cannot place faith in the censorious pages of books pandering to mean, one-sided prejudices. Babeuf, by this celebrated expression, may have meant infinitely more for humanity by way of warning us from the frivolities which make us giddy if not sometimes silly over foibles and trivialities to the neglect of more serious things.

Saint-Simon and Babeuf who worked in the same city, at the same epoch and perhaps side by side, but who had no Tertullianic apologists to force their, in some respects almost similar philosophy to our knowledge, have laid the foundation upon which a mighty political movement has arisen. The great heart of humanity must overlook all their little inconsistencies of detail.

Fourier, Owen and Holyoake have worked on lines of thought which, though not accepted by the established proletarian school, nevertheless has done much in aiding the development of conditions which make possible our presentation of a socialistic universe; but not throwing overboard definitively, as Plato did, the competitive system, root and branch, they all injected so much of specious individuality into their plans and schemes that too much of their life-work is spoiled. We consequently avoid detailing any particulars. It generally happens that the pet methods of detail of authors are that part of their philosophy which practically prove failures on the first short trial. They turn out to be mere idiosyncrasies of an individual, untenable on application, and vanish before the first stroke of scrutiny. Only the great generalities stand the test. We prefer respectfully to hand over these details to the opening intelligence of those who are to set the philosophy on trial.

But it can no longer be said of the arguments adduced in this chapter in proof that society may assume ownership and practical performance of its work, that it is Uto-

pian, or a far-fetched and crazy ratiocination. We may best settle these points of objection by quoting a passage from a report of Mr. Davis, superintendent of the street cleaning department of the city of Washington—a plain-spoken business man, entirely unknown in any labor or other reform movement, but who had the correct vision and the sturdy language to append his opinion and advice in his annual report. It advises as follows:

“I am decidedly of the opinion that the work of sweeping clean the streets and avenues, and the collecting and disposing of garbage, ashes and dead animals should be done directly by the city; and I most earnestly recommend that the contract system be abolished as soon as it can be legally done. As a rule the contract system tends to cheapen and destroy effective labor. Give a capitalist any class of work to do because he is the lowest bidder, and as a matter of course, for his own protection, he will in turn employ the cheapest labor to be found, and nine times out of ten the results are not what the interests of the community demand. In other words, the cheap contractor is bound to slight his work whenever and wherever he finds favorable occasion. The cheaper he undertakes his task the more he will slight the work, the poorer will be the material furnished and the more the laboring man will suffer.”

The great and long contended problem of free trade finds its final and thorough solution in the system here set forth. It is not to be solved by any mode of taxation. When the industries themselves pay their way, each contributes a quota of not more than one per cent for defraying the costs of its own keeping including the right of protection and security. All the industries of the world being thus independent and thus protected, the distributive functions of society, with their railroad, water and aerial lines, as well as the manufacturing, the provisioning,

the entertainment and the educational, what use would there be for custom-houses, excise and octrois, with their costly, tempting and morally corrupting influences? All systems of taxation, under such a form of political economy must, in course of time and on sufficient trial, give way to a harmonious, universal free trade.

In closing we may say that our eudæmonia could not have been built either by Plato or More. Their prolific imagination, great and pure, lacked the basic pedestal of the mechanical nineteenth century. Our structure is almost entirely mechanical. It is practically possible on every line and is not dependent upon either ethic changes or moral philosophy. It can be applied by any nation, at any time that the people are ready, or by all the peoples of the world at once.

The salutary results of this experiment will soon make themselves known world-wide. It will no longer be an experiment for China, Central Asia, the western world and the islands of the sea. It will be simply a march of civilization. The same system of natural compensations we denominate general averages will apply itself through a contingent fund wherewith to aid the weaker peoples to apply it and they in turn will be quick to accept the humane terms of reciprocity, so that in the progress of generations its adoption will become common to the uttermost corners of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMPARATIVE CLAIMS.

THE LAW of Comparative Claims and New Grounds of Basing the Same—Working People and the Non-Propertied Majorities Appear to have never until recently defined any Logical Claim to an Existence—The Question of Chance—How to multiply Opportunities—Professor Sumner's View Answered—Modern Claim that Governments should Create Opportunities for their Citizens—Chance to be opened before Faculties can be applied—Consequence to Mind-Gifts if Chances are Cut Off—Early Labor Laws—Law of Solon—Law of the Twelve Tables—How the Nations Developed Under them—Terrible Results when they were Suppressed—Celebrated Labor Law in Diocletian's Time—Its Importance—Vast Territory and Population which Rome comprised at that Epoch—Resistance of the Speculators Against It—The Law Repealed and the Consequences—Task that is to be performed by Us—Right to Realize all Honorable Claims—Law of the Jurist Ulpian—Man is the Product of two Means: the Natural and the Artificial, according to Marx—According to Ulpian, Man embraces Mankind—Problem of the Nineteenth Century—Comparison of the Relief Afforded to the World's Workers by Republics and Monarchies—Wilful and Wayward Spirit—No Extra Pay should be Asked for Gifts that cost Nothing—Moral Right to Claim a Living—What is Paid in Life—Means and what in Honor—Social, the Economic Question—Examples where Chance was Cut Off—Theodosius—Agricola—Misfit of the Inapt Ones—The Emigrant—Ballot a General but Effective Means of Acquiring Chances for the Inapt—Power of Adam Smith's Labor Theory—Comparative

Demands are not based on Property but Labor—Proudhon's Paradox—It is Studied in the French Academies—Relative Value of Life over Property—Anathema of Malthus—Life has the First Claim—Comparative Lowliness and Dirt of Property—How Slavery Originated—Paternalism and human Slavery—What Originally Instigated It—Old Jurists Quoted—How Governments Extend Paternalism to Courtiers and Other Recipients of Favors—It is Not Workers and the Deserving, but Corporations that Get It—The Rich, the Governments' favored Children—The Poor still Slaves—Paternalism in Pacific Railroad—Other Railroads—Nicaragua Canal—To Favored Banks, Bondholders and Gold Rings—Same Paternalism Refused the Workers—The Powerful Get It—Their Comparative Claims—Society the Reservoir for Storing Gifts of Individuals—Under Competitive System they are Lost—How they are Stored—Comparative Claim of Collectivism to Public Favors on this Account—Paternalism by Government regarding Panama Canal—Direct and Indirect Loan Scheme—Disaster and Disgrace—Loss Compared with Paternalism that should make the Governments Concerned Assume Entire Work and Ownership—Junto of Fifty—Their Claim on Paternalism Compared to that of a whole Population—Shrewd Aptitude of Bankers in Manipulating Gold—Experiments Successful Abroad—Trying it at Home—How they Secured Demonetization of Silver—A vast Scheme for Paternalism—How the Poorer Children Suffered—Rich made Richer—What Comparative Claim had the Bankers?—The Octopod—Question of Comparative Longevities—What Chances does Society Offer Those about to Choose their Trade or Profession?—It is not necessary to die Before our Regular Time—The Three Score Years and Ten—Men can positively Claim it—Detailing the Proofs—Savants Placing Possible Average at a Hundred Years—Who make their Living by Plying their Trades and Professions—A Profession that Cuts Life off at less than the full Allotment is Faulty and the Soci-

ety permitting it, is Bad and Guilty of Murder—Massachusetts Investigates Average Ages—The Author's Similar Search in Quicksilver Mines of Europe—Farmers the Longest Lived Actual Workers—The Judges and Justices—Their Ages—Gentlemen Exceed them All—Within a Brace of their Three-score Years and Ten—Greatest Average known—The Mate to these Well-Borns—The Soldiers—Average Ages of the Rascals—Aptness Saves them a Good Age—Claims that Persons Ought to Consider Before learning a Trade—What does Society Offer Them?—Comparative Rewards in Length of Life—Time of Apprenticeship—Investigating the Guilt of Existing Conditions—Quicksilver Miners Die at 26—Infancy and the Danger Periods—Chemical Workers and the Four other Trades that only Offer 27 Years—Description of Mines of Almaden and Idria—Of the Chemical Works—Of Agriculturists and the Five Short-Lived Trades—The Short-Lived Soldiers—Three Generations of the Five Trades to One Generation of Farmers—General Statement—Those Repudiated by Future State—Approximate Estimates Contrasts and Extremes—The Author's Visit to Secretaries of Trade Unions in Europe—Other Sources of information—Complete list giving Ages—Commanders and Soldiers—Fearful Disparity in Ages—The former Live 60 Years, the latter 28—The Hope Held Out by the Normal Society—Method of Contrasting as Comparisons Proceed—Guilty and Ungrateful Society—Farmers and their 65 Years of Life—Contrasted with Quicksilver Miners—Short-Lived Kindred—Farmers Outlive Them nearly Three to One—Graphic Description—Other Poisonous Occupations—Students—Full List of Average Longevities of 30 Trades—Of many Professions—Pairing and Contrasting—Elaborate Remarks on these in a Review—Mercury Mining—Poisonous Chemical Works—Railroad Brakemen—Factory Machine Operatives—Matchmakers—Cutlery Grinders—Soldiers of the Ranks—Their shocking Contrast with average Farmers—Three Generations to One—What Constitutes a Generation—Ancient

Convict Labor used among the Quicksilver Mines—Comparative Dangers to Commanders and common Soldiers—What are they good for?—The Malthusian Law—Distillers—Their High Age—Review of the Rogues—How they Evade the Hangman and Grow Old—The Genteel Class—Arraignment—Five Counts in the Charges against an alleged Criminal Condition of Society—Charged in First Count with Partiality toward the Gentlemen Class—Where the Wrong Lies—Illustration of the Eagle—Second Count—Farmers Compared with Short-Lived Trades—Hypocrisy—Crime of Wilful Neglect—Grand Average of Life might be Increased—Second Count—Arraignment of Conditions which allow a Disparity between Ages of Soldiers and their Commanders—Subject Argued Out—A general Protest—Methods of Righting the Wrong—Fourth Count in the Indictment—The Distillers—Their high Age—Numerous and Healthy Branches of the Business—Terrible Temptations Luring Youth to Choose this Business—Bony Finger of Death—Pointing the Warning Not to Choose a Short-Lived Trade—Fifth Count—The Judges and Justices—They survive to a Ripe Age of 64—High Average of the Criminals whom they Judge—Spectacle of a silly Society Employing and Defraying Costs of both the Judge and the Knave he Judges—Storage Capacity of Collectivism—Under Competition Death Robs the World of Genius and it is Lost—Under Collectivism it is Stored—Bounties and Bribes Held out to People Tempting them to Choose Criminal Pursuits—Dishonesty Pays Best in Long Life and otherwise—Great Attraction in the Arithmetic of Crime—Doctrine of Darwinian Physics Misunderstood—An Honorable Philosophy misconstrued and Misinterpreted—Made to Hold up a hideous Excuse for Misdemeanor—It is the Record and Alarming Drift of the Competitive System—Who is to be Blamed?—How Conscience is Ruled Out—Law of Fitness Knows no Conscience—As the Greater Chances become Filled a Rush is made by the Aptitudes to Grasp the Smaller Ones.

FROM EARLY times, not only among men of the Aryan race but of the various other types of mankind, the struggle has been for opportunity. We have called this in our last chapter the factors of chance. Under the competitive system, as population grows and the world fills up with literary and mechanical improvements, these factors of chance diminish. The chances for each individual of the people of the American republic are less at a population of 70,000,000, than they were at 20,000,000. When the unoccupied land shall have all been taken up and when the fields of literary labor shall have been absorbed, the chances for each one of the vast and increasing population will be reduced to a minimum.

Professor Sumner of Yale remarks in a book on the social classes, that what the people want is chance. This is quite true; but if their chances are taken away from them how are they to obtain their needs? The modern argument is that society must create the necessary opportunity for them; and they themselves argue that no other power can do it. With all the faculties and adaptabilities of success in obtaining means of existence, contentment and happiness, no one can succeed without opportunity. We have seen that in nature's kind dispensation there is no lack of either abundance or variety of faculties. Put an individual endowed with some of the numerous aptitudes into a prison where he is shut off from every chance of developing them and he will pine and die without bringing out anything for the benefit of himself or civilization. To this cruel misallotment of our factors of success may be attributed many losses to the world; for it has mystified and kept back development and progress. Thus it is that the world, particularly the part belonging to political economy, remains a wilderness and it is the clearest explanation of the causes why mechanics, from which all progress flows and to which all

science and enlightenment may be traced, has been so long without law, defense or protection. It were well for the scholars of Yale to consider this; for partly interwoven into their argument is recently unriddled evidence that the wise labor laws of Solon which were translated for the Twelve Tables at Rome, and which guaranteed great opportunities to labor, accounting for the wonderful strides of progress of that age, were set upon, torn up and destroyed. It were worthy the exercise of their unchallenged lore that they reflect upon the fact that it was not till after these labor laws were blotted out that those brilliant nations fell into inanition and death and that it was from this cause that there succeeded a syncope, plunging the masses into stupor and poverty from which they are but now awakening. They fell, having lost their chance. Without opportunity man degenerates into an animal. Reason loses its concrete capacity, and intellectual life is gone.

It cannot be said that governments in the far past have never tried to order and enforce regulations by which these opportunities could be presented to the masses. Speculation of the classes against the masses already before the time of Solon was such that working people were deprived of chance to live and to properly develop; and that lawgiver ordained a code of laws which were engraved on tablets and set up to public gaze at the Acropolis and the Prytaneum. We repeat that some of these laws were afterwards translated into Latin and engraved upon the Twelve Tables. It was liberal measures like these that furnished a chance through which the poorer classes, including those who labored, could use their faculties and powers of adaptation toward procuring for themselves the means of life. But these labor laws were destroyed.

During Diocletian's time the speculators in provisions

and all kinds of labor product again rose to such an outrageous and alarming height that this monarch caused to be passed and promulgated a genuine labor law entitled "*Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium*," A. D. 301. This celebrated edict was issued purely to supply a crying need of working people from whom the provision and labor speculators were systematically sapping the chances of life. It set a fixed price upon groceries and provisions, articles of clothing and manufacturers' raw stuffs, and also on wages, and on tools that were necessary for laboring people with which to carry on their various occupations. They held good for the whole vast population of the Roman empire. This was at the moment when Rome engrossed Egypt and northern Africa, Byzantium, the eastern portions of Europe, France, Spain and the British Islands. It was also at a time when these countries contained very large numbers and the city of Rome possessed a million and a half or two million people. The law was consequently of the more importance. It does not appear from the writings of Lactantius who was an eye witness, and became the historian of this law, that the laboring class in whose favor it was enacted, were otherwise than pleased. But the speculators who were numerous, and who in those days that moulded the feudal system, held a powerful influence over the working people, rose with such a determined resistance against the law that Diocletian, after great destruction of life and values, was forced to have it repealed. This is another of the first efforts of governments to intercede for the classes oppressed by the extortions of the competing speculators.

The competitive system will not permit any government to interfere in favor of the lambs and flocks whom they fleece and on whom they feed. Whenever the overruled industrial multitude attempt to secure a measure

of chance by which they may be afforded an opportunity to rise, they are invariably set upon and thwarted. If necessary, force is used and they are put out of the way by means as foul as murder. The only way they can aid this great power of government is by organizing their numbers, studying their problem, sciencing their methods, internationalizing their platform of principles and consuming a century in its attainment. They must attack the civilization that keeps them down.

Here is an enormous task to be performed; and not only the enemy against whom they strive, but even law and justice ask by what right of claim can this be done.

We answer, by the right of comparative claims with the comparison based on living numbers. It has already been noticed that so far as a moral and legal right to do this is concerned, there is respectable precedent. The jurists Ulpian and Florentine have shown this in their writings on the basis of rights. Both of them long ago defined, that what the masses needed was just, and their definitions stand against the oppressors. Marx says that man is the product of two means; first, the cosmic or natural and second, the economic or artificial. Now according to Ulpian and Florentine whose judgments are incorporated into the Pandects of Justinian, "man" includes mankind. If so, the right of claim rests with the majority and not with the minority, no matter how noble, or how much they may be fortified behind the castles of wealth or the prestige of inheritance and power. The age is rapidly approaching when the grand democracy of numbers shall be given the parole, and when the power of comparative claims shall be based on majority, numerically counted. Chance, under such a dispensation becomes equalized. Of course this has not yet become the condition in fact; it is however, the tendency of this century almost everywhere among progressive people. The

Progress moving the world in this direction is a product of enormous labor. The agitation which is required to build and keep up such a movement is of itself a stupendous effort. Labor is worth all it produces. The product of the whole nineteenth century is in a direction of forcing an understanding of these rights involved in the great law of comparative claims and it is a monument to the science of human progress, to be strictly classed with industry.

It is popular to suppose that republics have proved to be more conducive to the yield of chance and the enjoyment of men's claims to right, than monarchies. If the monarchy is absolute and the monarch a tyrant, they are out. A close study of history shows that so far as the common people or masses of population are concerned, the republic has by no means proved itself exempt from tyranny. It is however certain that the republic, to the spirited citizen, affords by far the best and freest opportunities to disabuse himself of impositions. Whatever the form of government may be, if under competing forms the results will always be about the same. The monarch and his courtiers as well as the president and his cabinet are alike subject to the three temptations called in Holy Writ the three forms in which the disease of sin makes its appearance. These are said to be the solace of sense, the love of praise and the desire of gain—all contaminated by the impulse common to humanity and known as the willful and wayward spirit. But neither kingdom or republic, nor all the barriers which the competitive system could lay, have been able to suppress the intellectual-political development necessary to awaken men on a large scale to methods of government which eliminate these evils by setting political economy upon a higher plane. The competitive system cannot admit of comparative claims. It is too sordid to acknowledge that in

justice, nothing extra should be charged for the use of aptitudes, abilities and opportunities which nature bestows as free gifts. Nature bequeathes these faculties gratis. It is a piece of assumption of a degrading kind to hold it just, to require pay for that which costs nothing. Under a true law of comparative claims, the claim of the digger is for enough to eat and use and is therefore just. In justice he ought to be paid the same as any other person. Why not? Does he not require as much of daily food? Are not his claims to education, to manhood, to the amenities of life, to the ordinary rights, means and privileges as a citizen the same? Finally, is he not, equally with the gifted neighbor, required by nature, to leave his goods behind him when he dies? On what claim in public justice, then, can he be debarred the power of receiving all that is necessary for him to live upon in exchange for what his labor produces? What right under moral law have gifted ones to more? But the digger, having no ambition files in no claims to honor which, after plenty is the next great incentive to labor. Honor is paid in another way and is not even aspired to by the ungifted masses. Honor, then, stands as a separate and distinct attribute and does not come into the Marxian aphorism, under the economic or artificial means. It is a coefficient which inspires a new and distinct class of nerves, and will never be even coveted by an ungifted neighbor. The social, is the economic question and from it the political economist does not soar to the ethereal metaphysics of glory. There are no clashes, no blighted hopes, no emulatory emotions which stir up the mind in a competitory race. This large class of useful workers is thus, always respected, always recognized, always paid; and when possessed of the loftier merits, always encouraged, which places them on the same social and economic status with all the rest and there is no partiality. This

is the stronghold of collectivism and when we rise out of the present competitive system so high as to look over into its beautiful valleys we shall see unfolded a new and fruitful field whereon to erect the fabric of true political government. The gifted one whose endowment makes achievement easy, is inspired by the incentive to excel for honor's sake; and by a virtuous ambition he develops more product, or unfolds more of nature's hidden fund. This philosophy leads to the discoveries and inventions which, under altruism, the future world is to bring to light; and by it also the unnerving theory is overturned. In the competitive world nature crowds all the gifts on a few because opportunities are so curtailed that thought is restricted to them; otherwise no development could take place. This accounts for the slow development of knowledge and progress. Many of the best intellects are curtailed. To the brilliant and hopeful, chance is cut off and promise blasted. Instances of this kind abound in the annals of the past. The first Theodosius was perhaps unequalled among generals, and for a time his genius shone so brightly and threw out such scintillations of kindness mingled with attractiveness and judgment that notwithstanding the value of his victories to his emperor and to the world, a miserable jealousy caused his recall and ruin. Agricola suffered in the same way and died of a broken heart. The histories of Procopius show several instances of great genius and blighted hopes. The same mean jealousy of power curtails even to this day the factors of chance, and men have to encounter at every turn of life these wretched shackles which deny them their comparative claims. We have abundantly shown this in another chapter illustrating a different argument.

But there is another application of this law of chance which has hitherto remained unmentioned. It often happens that for want of wit, the inapt ones lose splendid

openings and by this misfit or disjuncture of faculty and opportunity, wretchedness is entailed, not only on themselves but upon their families, for generations. Is it just that a generation should be compelled to atone for the mistake of a single hour? We know of an emigrant from western New York, who, with nine thousand dollars he had inherited, emigrated to Illinois, when that state was in its infancy and before the ox team was superseded by the iron horse. After a tedious journey of weeks they arrived at the hamlet of Chicago, during the Blackhawk war. At this enterprising stopping place he was offered by a land speculator, a large block of land—a bargain urged upon him by a person who knew of the old man's gold. They had been friends at Buffalo in times before. The offer was refused. The wanderer was too stupid to perceive what another less rich found to be a bonanza. He pushed out upon a desolate prairie and spent his fortune on a farm. To a naturally brilliant family the consequence was a loss to the world of talent that was ever afterwards withered for want of means, because ungifted with love of a pursuit thus forced upon them; and pinioned by poverty and mismanagement, they could not create a chance for themselves. They suffocated in a wilderness of want. This man had not even the aptitude to perceive his chance. The value of land then offered him almost as a gift, now rolls up into a quantity beyond computation. It is the case with thousands who have no powers of their own and are isolated from, and unaided by, the society in which they live. There is no claim against this large class of humanity who are deprived by nature of powers of discrimination. They work hard, are willing to apply themselves in efforts which are often too great for their bodily powers. Yet they cannot get a living. This class of adaptations is one that has no enemy. The competitive system with its isolated management is

thoroughly unfit that they cannot expect anything from it. They appear to have no claim, and do nothing to that part of community who ask for, or would not accept of charity. They cannot rise of their own energies; the contrary whatever they struggle at, seems, as if by its very vitality, to plunge them into deeper obscurity and misery which they do not deserve. What shall be done with them? Sunk in the environments of the great competitive system, what little vitality they have is involved in the complex worries of self-sustenance; and notwithstanding the maxim that necessity is the mother of invention, it is nevertheless necessity which makes invention and every other attribute of their mind impossible. Instead of enjoying an atmosphere of freedom, instead of being able to the utmost of its ingenuity to figure out the ways and means of a decent livelihood. The concentration of the better capital against the less, which is seen going on every turn, tends to discourage them and make things worse, by sinking them downward, deeper into the great gulch of despondency.

Every sober inspection of conditions like these must set with the straight and unwavering claim that no other exists which can inure to their own benefit but the exercise of citizenship of which they are a part. Here they are, if the conditions are so corrected as to allow of it, and their merit honorably, in a direction of personal superiority, unchallenged; because, the salaries equalized on the scale of actual wants rather than of petty faculty, personal preferment or inherited rights which ruin all incentives for the competitive system, they can be judged and respected for their merits.

The excruciating sufferings of the large class above described cannot be relieved in the competitive system. Their sensitiveness to suffering is worse imbibed by being submitted to comparison with others who do less

but get more, and who consequently hold them in contempt. They long for liberty. Now this class if carefully counted, will be found the largest, numerically speaking, of any other. Under democracy then, which of the various factors of society has the highest comparative claim? With a claim on society that is based on membership expressed in a vote which cannot be duplicated, these inapt but useful ones can quickly see their chance. Struggling in the open, unorganized field of competition, no chance is visible. Everything is grasped away from them by the sharper ones. They find at every race that they come too late. There was no opening left recognizing the character of liberty which honors the largest numbers. The natural weight in the scale of justice is intrinsically in the inverse ratio to numbers rather than to quality and pretense. Competition reverses it. Numbers, under perfect justice, stand in importance of their claim somewhat as a geometrical ratio stands in comparison with an arithmetical one. The comparative claim under socialism then, is in proportion to the majority of its membership, and as this membership sweeps in the working classes who have hitherto remained outside without opportunity, something of an idea of the relative importance of collectivism to coming generations may be conceived. Under competitive conditions a man is judged from the success with which he manages his business, his earnings or his salary; cursed as a failure if he fails to obtain independence, and if he arrives at that important goal, whether by honorable transactions or by irregularities or even by fraud and sometimes by murder, the rule overlooks the means in justification of the end. Under collectivism it is the reverse; for man is no longer judged from that standpoint of quantity of goods or difference of pay, or grounds of pretense, but from the product of his skill, sense, or brain as crystalized in genius and pay-

able in honor. This is the great claim of labor. Adam Smith did more for socialism than he supposed, when he settled down on his revolutionary theorem that labor is the basis of all wealth, and consequently the great economic factor of political economy. Ever since his day which was even before Saint-Simon, governments have been changing base, and they already show symptoms of shuffling from their ancient error and of assuming their natural function as the true organization of the working people.

The comparative claims of humanity are not based on property but on labor, and chance is only awaiting development upon this basis, metamorphosed from property and hypothetical pretense into simple industry. The celebrated paradox of Proudhon that property is robbery and spoil of a marauding society, grows brighter with every generation. Levasseur tells us that the maxims and theories of this bold thinker are already among the standard works that are being used as text books in the social science branch of the French Academy. He prejudices this assertion, however, with a gratuitous remark that it is for the purpose of teaching their fallacies. They will thus soon become accepted as truths; since all that any truth asks for is an investigation.

Let us now see what is the relative value of life over property from a point of view of comparative claims; we have already treated it in the sense of general averages. Malthus the modern Procrustes of the competitive school, as if some pruriency constrained him to revengefulness, shocked humanity with his celebrated declaration that a man without property has no claim of right to nature's feast and deserves to be turned out homeless to starve. This seemingly inhuman condemnation was perfectly in accord with the genius of competition which holds property to be more valuable than life. The basis of it is

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that he is born into a world that is "already possessed," and is consequently a victim to his environment. He has no claim of right to live because he dares not set foot on property that is owned. The only possible escape he has from the law against trespass, is by way of the street which is social domain, or the public gardens and parks or the free waters of the rivers and seas. He can find no place, therefore, except those prepared by socialism, and these being pillaged and impoverished by the footpads and pirates of competition, he must fight or he must die. He fights and dies; and the great labor problem rises, phoenix-like from his bones, to deny the justice of the law of competitions under which property is arrogated to be of comparatively greater value than life. Experimentally penned, the dogma of Malthus, which is in insolent defiance of Ulpian, of Florentine, and in perfect accord with the ancient and pagan law of entailment and the claim of primogeniture, should be designated by a monogram of the skull and crossbones.

In this presentation, our argument is that property has no value in comparison with human existence. Is it not true that the only real property for animate creation is life? The natural and final ownership is the self-ownership of the living spark. Property, so called, is at best but a means of life, paltry and insignificant in the light of comparative claims. Property is an unfeeling means of life and unless the wife, the husband, the children, the slaves are property, there is no property. Life, such as was in them, in the ages that have been outgrown among enlightened men, was all there ever was of property; all there was of their own. When enlightenment lifted the obscurities of intellect and cast its beams upon truth, honor came forth to rescue them from the lowliness and dirt of property. It follows that unfeeling and lifeless property is all that there is left. Enlightenment has

raised life above a thing so base as to be a subservient, feelingless instrumentality. Is the tool superior to its user? Admitting that for the latter it is indispensable, what are its comparative claims? Proudhon says that it is theft and we may justly agree with him. It may be added to his premise, that it is a lie. It is a false and twisting verbiage that would force it to this dignity. How can inanimate things be centered into and made consanguineous with so sensitive and palpitating a creature as life that is unknowable and adorable, and claimed to be worthy of eternity? Avast ye impudent, who would set up a rusting thing, made by the breath of labor, existing without sense, perishing without emotion, receding into oblivion without regrets, as the superior to life! Yet it is this so-called property that is defended and it is life that is killed in its defense. In the competitive system the tenacious propensity, ancient and modern, religious and profane, is to hold and defend property above life. From the highest antiquity to the present the military will be found constantly on post duty to guard property. It will shoot down human beings in its defense, regardless of life. Men who possess it rank themselves superior to those more deserving who do not, thus creating and maintaining caste and social grades. The engines of egotism are set whirling to beget a hypothetical dignity for one at the expense of another. The hypocrisy of social ethics with a mock scholarship is used to force to the front a sickly awe. The powers of avarice are equipped; the natural aptitudes and acquired faculties which make a few fittest for survival are turned on; the tendency of mutual aid and inter-care are guffawed and scoffed and the few get the property while the millions plod and perish. The whole is a symptom of some great and chronic malady in the world's political economy, due to the failure of the competitive system.

The modern proposition is to apply paternalism as a cure for human slavery resulting from this system. The craving has hitherto been to use the bodily powers as a means in procuring property. Slavery originated here. One of the old Roman jurists declared that the desire to appropriate bodily powers as a means of administering to one's own advantage and pleasure was the foundation of human slavery. According to this statement slavery still exists. We have already seen that for the working-man the only escape from wages slavery is through the ownership and management of himself by means of his political organization, the government. But it then becomes seemingly paternal. Let us now set this argument forth in another light, even if by doing so we accentuate what has already been said regarding the usurpation of social or collective machinery by manipulators of the competitive system.

As hitherto advanced, the question of paternalism has been rudely received and contemptuously treated by the philosophers and political economists. Notwithstanding the law of Moses, the republic of Plato and the lessons of the patriarchs and of the family, a great and blackening array is paraded out to head off all growth of the spread of such a philosophy.

This bluster against paternalism in modern days is hypocrisy. Under their own control of governments they are paternal now. It is not necessary to wait until an opposite idea gets control. The trouble is that paternalism extends to corporations, the rich, the power in control, the scheming monopolies, the crowned heads and carping courtiers, the peddlers of patronage and satrapical, cringing creatures of the civil list. These are all recipients of paternalism. They use the power, money and other favors of the people's government to further their private interests. When this use however, is against

the welfare of the majority of the people whose natural organization is their political government, it is to be regarded as usurpation. It was through an adroit usurpation of paternalism that the Pacific railroad company obtained gifts from governments of millions of acres of valuable land, and over a hundred million dollars to aid in the construction of that thoroughfare. It was supposed at the time, that it was a greatly needed improvement; and when later on, the majority were informed by the bitter tyranny exercised over the road which forced them into poverty by exacting undue tariffs for transportation of their products, they awoke to the mistake and demanded that government should own and operate the road. By this means the so-called paternalism which is a bad name for the idea, is changed from the corporation consisting of a few, to the entire people.

Weighed in the scale of comparative claims, where will the corporation stand? Twenty or thirty men are now enabled to assume as much importance as seventy million. They, not the people, are the children. Here we find a return to the ancient claim of primogeniture by which the favored one always inherited the paternal estate and all the other children were slaves or outcasts. The comparative claim is as to the numbers enjoying paternalism. It is the twenty or thirty compared with the seventy millions—a renewal of the ancient and pagan despotism.

In France, a similar paternal favor was tried upon the government with a still more celebrated and disastrous result, in the Panama canal. A few individuals induced the government to extend its influence in procuring for them direct and indirect loans so that they might build the canal and become rich. It was the same paternalism. So soon as they had this money in hand they squandered or ran off with it, impoverished the people,

ruined the scheme, and plunged their names and their country in disgrace. Had France arranged a co-operation with the peninsular states and the United States, and built the canal direct, and without this corporation it would still have been paternalism ; but the children would have all been equal recipients, their work, which is a needed one, would have been successful, and its beneficent effects would have been distributed over a large portion of the inhabitants of the globe. What comparative claim have a scheming junto of fifty managers over the countless numbers who want this canal ?

A few bankers finding that gold interest bearing bonds were more profitable and manageable than any other, concocted a scheme to have governments paternalize and guarantee their banking operations. They run their experiment in England and France, and by an unparalleled manœuvre in the United States, procured a law in 1873, demonetizing silver. It was a vast stroke of paternalism which made governments, supposed to protect and to be the natural organization of the majority, desert their function of protecting the masses, and offer it to enrich and glorify a few. What comparative claim had these bankers to the money and through it, the means of life of millions ? By this partial and one-sided paternalism all the governments of the world, actuated by the competitive system, are extending their powers of favoritism to an exiguous few and coldly turning away from the mass, who are equally their children and more than equally in need of paternal aid. Thus the real children whose only true organization is their political state, like their kindred in the days of pantheism, are all except a fortunate few, cast away into slavish misery, and unloved and unaided, made to struggle for a meagre existence. It is thus that the money power, a great slimy octopod, is allowed to hold the people's political organization in its

tentacles, and to feel out and fasten upon the products of the labor of society's true inheritors, the more humanly begotten children.

In our chapter on general averages we have alluded to the possible longevities of those plying various trades and professions, using the same only in support of that one theme, but promising to return to it as a strengthener to the still more striking argument on comparative claims. What claim has the worker on society? What does society offer him under the competitive or, as it is beginning to be called, the capitalistic conditions? What claim would he have in the scale of longevities under a collective arrangement we have described, and how will the comparison stand?

We shall claim to begin with, that it is not necessary for a mechanic or any other worker engaged in the business world to die before his time. If he die before his regular time, which has been put by the revered Authority at three score years and ten, and more recently by some savants at as high as a hundred, then it is certainly the fault of conditions for which society is responsible, if not in fact, guilty.

We propose first, to present the statistics of average ages of those engaged earning their living at the various trades and professions; and as the thief, the counterfeiter and burglar have established their lifework as a profession, they must be enumerated among the rest. Under what is known as our free and independent competition, prostitution has long been established as a recognized profession, in many countries legally; and we think no honorable opponent of ours will deny our right to likewise class it among the professional employments. The length of life of man being fixed at seventy years, it follows that if he dies younger it is because he meets with undue causes of death; and we have held that when pre-

mature dissolution comes upon great numbers as a result of unfavorable occupations, they are killed; and their murder must be scientifically charged against society. If society cannot be arrested, tried and punished for the crime like the individual, it is high time, and logically just that an attempt be made for its arrest and that it be submitted to a most crucial trial. It certainly deserves to be obliterated.

According to figures of undoubted veracity, especially those given in a statistical report as a result of an investigation ordered by the state of Massachusetts, the longest lived of the various occupations where the people lived by manual labor, was that of the well-to-do farmer. It was found to average more than sixty-five years; and the longest lived occupation where they lived by a non-manual profession was that of the judges and justices who attain to an average of fully sixty-four years. These may be held in the argument to be actual employments and come within five and six years of the biblical promise.

But there is another category of humanity whose membership does better than this—the gentlemen who attain to sixty-eight. They are the outcome of conditions of society. It may be assumed by many, especially those who have turned their attention to studying the causes and cure of social ills, that these people have no employment whatever, and as a consequence, that they cannot possibly be included among the trades and professions. They are those who, by the exercise of faculties of their own in early life, or by some other power, as that of inheritance or favoritism or bequest, live without the slightest care, and do not trouble themselves about the welfare of others. There is nothing to obstruct the free and normal course of existence. They have means of every sort to make life an uninterrupted beatific spell; for pulsation

and nourishment run on, thrilling their being from birth to senectitude while law and obsequious force watch their capricious beck and cringing institutions cry "hands off." It is, therefore, not society's fault if their average translation come only two years under the biblical three score and ten. It is a fault strictly of their own. We cannot therefore, use them except as a fulcrum over which to balance the contrast in our investigation of comparative claims.

Then there are the judges at sixty-four, paired with those they judge; those who live fewer years, work much harder and who must be highly gifted by nature with aptitudes and tissues of finest adaptive faculty—the rascals and outlaws whose cunning and cleverness guide them through successful ventures, and whom society, following her conscienceless law of selections and survival, rewards with an average longevity of fifty-nine years.

Only one of these two considerable classes can properly come into a philosophy of collectivism, because the latter are a class which collectivism will not have.

These two unavoidable fixtures of present conditions introduced, to be returned to, in proper place, we now proceed to the consideration of average longevities of more normal factors of civilization which are necessary to both the capitalistic and the socialistic society.

For some reason there appeared an estimate of the average life of the students. How, or under what theory such an inquiry could be made it is difficult to conjecture; but their average is set down at twenty-three years. This same apprenticeship or period of learning had already been included in the lifetime of the trades and professions. Of course the mass did not die during these sixteen years at all, but went over to be reckoned into the thus acquired occupations. If the claim on average longevity be only on these twenty-three years, for students,

then the apothegm of Thomas Gray is startlingly emphasized: "Where ignorance is bliss t'is folly to be wise."

The state investigation alluded to, which gives its figures accurately enough, for a healthy section, fails to present a schedule of longevities in a fair manner, such as is wanted to illustrate the far-reaching subject of comparative claims. It gives none but the total length of life. We want to know what society is offering a young man or a young woman who, having arrived at an age when they feel the need of selecting a life's vocation, may choose that which not only befits itself to their inclinations but holds out an offer of the best and longest existence. The time between birth and entering into apprenticeship, generally supposed to be the first sixteen years, should not be reckoned. We want to know the comparative rewards offered by society for the time they devote to its actual service including their term of study and devotion to it. We want to know the sum of happiness or sorrow to be expected from the matriculate to the alumnus, and from the alumnus to the grave. We shall charge the results of our investigation to society. By no other means can we take a thorough measurement. Let us see what it shall be, and find out which of the two societies, the present competitive one or the one based on reason in its concrete, where aptitudes and powers of adaptation are balanced.

These general statements which for purposes of clearness are based on approximates to the state statistics, as well as our own taken at the sources of information, show the two extremes for the useful workers, such as are indispensable, at least to the present competitive or capitalistic state and with one exception to the future or altruistic state we are comparing. We were permitted, through the kindness of many secretaries of trades unions and other labor organizations of long standing,

in various countries of Europe, including the registry of the friendly societies and the largest and oldest trades unions in England, to examine the exact data of apprenticeships and deaths, recording the ages of each. On comparing these data with the figures of the state statistics above quoted for Massachusetts, we perceive that in Europe the average ages are less, except among well-to-do farmers and gentlemen.

From the best sources we find that ship carpenters, riggers, carpenters, stonecutters, masons, tanners, millwrights, caulkers, brickmakers and slaters somewhat strangely classed as mechanics, hold to the average of fifty-two years. Were it not for the dangers they are subjected to they would probably arrive at as high an average as farmers. They have out-door air, and most of them are accustomed to quit work on rainy days, and in winter they generally have a continuous period of rest.

Another set of high averages for manual workers reach fifty-six. They are the weighers at fifty-nine; distillers at fifty-eight; drovers at fifty-three; ferrymen at fifty-three and longshoremen at fifty-one.

Then come the men who follow the ocean and who live forty-seven years; fishermen forty-two; foremen, master mechanics and bosses forty-four.

Teachers live thirty-two years, professors fifty-six, lawyers, doctors, public officers including sheriffs, constables, the police and reporters, average fifty-five.

The tailors, clockmakers, basketmakers, nurses, tobaccoists and lighthouse keepers, arrive to forty-nine.

The domestics, shoebinders, dressmakers, seamstresses, milliners and tailoresses were found to live forty years.

Peddlers, teamsters, firemen and engineers die at the age of thirty-seven.

The very shortest lived working people living strictly by manual labor are the quicksilver miners, steel grind-

ers before the introduction of the dust-blowing machine, the matchmakers, the brakemen and certain classes of operatives and smelters. All of these average only twenty-seven years. We shall present their case as one of the extremes, to be paired with the farmers.

Then for the professionally employed and those people who do not live by manual labor, we find the highest average to be among the financiers, the agents, clerks and merchants. They were found to exceed the farmers their average length of life running up to sixty-seven. These having out and in-door occupation, opportunities for travel, no severe intellectual tasks and variety of habits at will, with little care and worry, live on unhindered almost to the established end of human life.

Bankers are averaged at sixty; bank officers at fifty-six; the brokers and inn-keepers at fifty and the apothecaries at fifty-two.

We must now pass rapidly over another list of long-lived people who fill, numerically speaking, an important place in our civilization. It embraces the professional class and includes professors who average fifty-seven; lawyers fifty-six, physicians fifty-five; public officers and a few others fifty-five. These we may compare, though we cannot contrast, with the business managers, merchants, clerks, agents, financiers, all at sixty-five; bankers, sixty; bank officers fifty-six; manufacturers fifty-two; innkeepers fifty; brokers and several others of a somewhat similar occupation fifty. They all average as high as sixty years. It is clear at the first inspection that society treats these two considerable classes of population exactly in proportion as they have obeyed the laws of nature. Nature awards them a long, delicious and golden harvest of years.

A similar statement with similar comparison for each conclusion may be made to each of the following grand

groups of occupations. We here insert the full list of longevities so far as it is possible to obtain statistics from various sources, and set them in the order of their comparative claims. We begin with the longest lived people of existing civilization and deem it but fair to set over against each, an opposite extreme, such as represents and favorably pairs with them, in order to produce a logical contrast, as well as to emphasize and illustrate this important argument which furnishes the counts for our promised arraignment of a guilty and ungrateful society.

Farmers average sixty-five and we shall pair them with the quicksilver miners who die at twenty-six, brakemen at twenty-six, matchmakers at twenty-seven, steel-grinders at twenty-eight. The nobility and rich by inheritance live to the age of sixty-six and we may contrast them with the soldiers who die at an average of twenty-eight. The judges and justices live to sixty-four and should be compared with those they judge, such as thieves at fifty-eight, confidence swindlers and pickpockets, sixty. The commanders and their lieutenant and subordinate officers reach sixty years. They will be contrasted with the soldiers whom they command but may here be compared to religious leaders, such as prelates at sixty-two, clergymen fifty-nine, and sextons at fifty-nine. Bankers arrive at sixty, bank officers fifty-six, manufacturers fifty-two, innkeepers fifty. Brokers fifty against professors fifty-seven, lawyers fifty-six, doctors fifty-five, sheriffs, constables and police fifty-three. Pilots sixty. Seafarers forty-seven, bosses forty-four, foremen and master mechanics forty-four, fishermen forty-two compared with artists, forty-four, musicians forty-two, dentists forty-two. Weighers fifty-nine, drovers fifty-three, ferrymen fifty-three, longshoremen fifty-one, tobacconists fifty, set opposite the basketmakers sixty-one, lighthouse keepers sixty-three, clockmakers fifty-two, harness makers forty-eight,

nurses sixty; the tailoresses forty-nine, milliners thirty-nine, domestics thirty-nine, shoe binders forty-one, printers thirty-two, set in contrast with peddlers at forty-six, teamsters forty-two; firemen, butchers, engineers and distillers live to fifty-eight and operatives die at twenty-eight. Merchants attain to sixty-four, speculators sixty-three, agents sixty-two, clerks sixty-one, compared with the makers of things they trade in, the millers fifty-seven, clothiers fifty-six, block and tackle makers fifty-six, tallow chandlers fifty-six, wagonmakers fifty-seven, wood turners fifty nine, calico printers fifty-five. The laborers average forty-eight years, the stevedores fifty-three, cigarmakers and barbers forty, cooks and servants thirty-nine.

Following this, and closing the list, there come the dentist, the artists and the musicians who class themselves as professional rather than as manual workers, although they are a compound of both. They are subject to greater worry, have less regularity of life and are often exposed to mental and physical strains, and consequently nature allows them only an average of forty years of life.

It is necessary in order to estimate comparative claims on society, of an average life awarded to these various occupations, to parcel them out so that they may stand over against each other, every pair held forth in contrast having similar relationship. Under whatsoever conditions these facts may be considered, the information invariably proves that the length of life is in proportion to the climate, care and good treatment received.

As to our sources of statistics it is but doing justice to this argument to remark that Massachusetts is not a fair field, or a correctly representative area of the habitable globe for making a statistical estimate of average longevities. For more than two hundred years, intelligence, energy, science and an unusually high public pride have

been at work subduing malaria, and elevating the mind to a study of, and obedience to, the rules of health. To this should be added the naturally healthy climate of that state. The grand average sums up at fifty-two years for about one hundred and sixty-two thousand persons, covering a space of thirty-four years, after more than two hundred years of the above mentioned sanitary auxillaries. In China, among a similarly dense population the death roll would probably be found much higher, and in South America, Africa and perhaps most other portions of the United States, especially in the great and populous mining regions, the death rate runs far higher than in Massachusetts.

We have thus given the various figures exhibited by the capitalistic system as a result of honest investigation taking in a healthy country where people claim to be not only highly civilized but religious. It is altogether too high for the short-lived occupations and too low for the long-lived ones. In other countries the prelates, courtiers, gentlemen class and others attain to a still higher age while operatives, miners, weavers, grinders and many others die much younger. But those countries are careful to avoid the publication of these sickening facts, which are made an outcome of the competitive system.

Having presented the statistical lists we may now be permitted to indulge in a few more elaborate remarks on the prominent cases. The first considered should be a very large class of people who are a natural outcome of our civilization, namely, the gentlemen, which term is here understood to include both sexes. They attain to the apex of our longevous cone, arriving, as shown in the list, at sixty-eight years. This is the highest average of life known to our present civilization. As the world generally regards them they are an exceedingly respectable element of population; and it is with deepest regrets

that we are obliged to set them in contrast with a lower class for comparison; but the genius of our argument forms an imperative force impelling us to the commission of a disagreeable duty. They are the highest representatives of worthlessness. In all honor and loyalty to the theme, they should be set *vis à vis* to some debatably harmless classes who revel in a precarious domain, and in some countries, get their profession and life means legalized so as not to be classed with outlaws. As the gentry turn their inherited property to enjoyment of all the riches that conduce to long life and much pleasure, so the gamblers, the sportsmen, the sweepers-in of stakes, even the great class of the fallen who revel in an exuberance of youthful and evanescent nerve-force, turn their inherited aptitudes and brilliant faculties at winning the game, or their coaxing magnetism upon the susceptible. In both cases it is a strife for continuous joy. In both cases, were it not for the treacheries of fortune and the perishability of ardent youth, they would live out their age uninterruptedly to the golden summit of the cone.

But unfortunately for the humanity contriving and exhilarating upon wit and beauty, the ethics of institutions and the statutes of nations have been long pronounced against them, while the irrevocable law of health has rapped the gavel of judgment and uttered the fatal decision of a supreme will. Why have they never let fall from their lips the slightest lisp of condemnation against those who, inheriting the product of ill-paid toilers—victims whose short life-struggle heaped up their stores and paved their pathway, but who never received from them a kindly glance or a parting adieu as they fell?

The farmers are given in the Massachusetts report the credit, as we have seen, of attaining to sixty-five and one half years. This is counting a hundred thousand from birth to the end of life. For that class who live longest

of all the useful factors of society, this is an excellent average. Estimating them from our own method, or beginning the count at sixteen years, we ourselves found their average to be only sixty; but our estimate covers a less favorable territory.

We now turn to examples of minimum longevities and at one leap, descend directly to the quicksilver miners, cutlery grinders, railroad brakemen, plumbago workers, matchmakers and machine operatives, leaving all the intermediate occupations to be rendered into evidence as wayside collateral contributing to the volume of proof.

Of the quicksilver miners and steel grinders nothing is said in the state statistics. We shall depend upon our own observations and carefully collected data taken on the spot, during a protracted visit to the source of this information, at the mercury mines of Almaden and those in Carniola. The accredited age of the workmen engaged at the Spanish mines is only twenty-six years, and is perhaps the lowest average life to be found among the useful occupations. These poor people are offered good wages, especially at the mines of Idria which belong to the state. The boy enters service at sixteen, we will say to keep good our form of expression, although as a matter of fact, any strong young man who can get the necessary influence, may go into the diggings. Strange as it may appear to those uninformed upon the real circumstances, there is a rivalry among the competitors as if an infatuating siren were within the fatal grottoes luring them to a loathsome death. The time of labor cannot be prolonged much beyond four hours daily, because the fumes would penetrate their bodies and act as a poison. They work briskly for four or five hours and are then marched out to give place to relays. A sickening rot, accompanied by the odors of scrofula, attacks the body, and they soon fall victims of ptyalism and other hydrar-

gyrate infections. Wherever, as in Austria, the mercury mines are worked by the empire, such is the desire for government employ that they rush to their death as if led on by the lurid glare of an ignis fatuus. But the government works are the best kept and are far more healthy. According to the information given us both at Idria and Almaden, a man cannot work longer, at most, than ten consecutive years in a quicksilver mine. It was acknowledged however, that there are some natures that do not seem to be affected by the fumes, but these are rare. Workmen seldom enter the mines before they are eighteen years old and they generally die before attaining to twenty-six. This gives them only eight years in the actual performance of their calling. We now turn to the numerical phase of the question, and find for this purpose the best material to base a statement upon at Idria in Carniola. There, near the great cave of Adelsberg, are the government quicksilver mines where a nominal five hundred uniformed workmen are constantly engaged with pick and shovel. Suppose these five hundred miners work constantly, night and day, each gang of five hundred working four hours, it would require just three thousand men to work a mine. Then compute the proportion of the death rate and compare this with the rate during the farmers' generation and in these sixty-five years, or three average lifetimes of the quicksilver miner we shall have no less than nine thousand men as the mining population of Almaden in seven decades. This, is throwing all sentiment as to what became of them out of the count, and is a considerable number for the workers in the quicksilver mines. It is, in fact, a large population for a little town though only one third of them are alive at one time. A town of this size would have to do a large recruiting business from outside, to keep up its population at this rate. The smelting of the ores outside

the mines is attended with much greater danger to life than the mining within. Young and old die daily of the salivating vapors arising from the process. All the quicksilver works of the world which are constantly employing large numbers, are poisonous and the destruction to humanity is very great.

Allied to this industry both in the character of its dangers and the swiftness of its deadly work is that of the manufacture of chemicals. The average years reached by those engaged in it are twenty-eight. The practical chemists who do the drudgery of manufacture must not be confounded with those in the medicinal work of the drug stores, or the analytical chemists of the professions upon whom the fumes work no deleterious effects. It is in the great chemical works where vast quantities are prepared from raw stuffs for the trade, that the victims are found on whom our estimates are based. Some of these manufactories occupy acres of ground; and to the passer-by, the low, sooty, rick-shaped buildings and the peculiar effluvium which can often be inhaled a mile distant, have an effect which is by no means agreeable.

Within are great numbers of men, women and children toiling from ten to fourteen hours each day, according to the customs and laws of the various countries in which they are located. To prepare all the medicines, paints, varnishes and other innumerable materials of chemical manufacture for the world, requires a great force of humanity. They count up into the millions. Births must recruit the slaughter in quick succession. While a full generation of farmers lasts as long as sixty-five years, a generation of chemical workers drops from life's stage in twenty-eight. While a population of a hundred thousand farmers would remain nearly seventy years to people a given agricultural district, nearly three times that number of chemical workers would be required to keep

the same status good. To people with, say a million inhabitants, a state whose industries were exclusively those of quicksilver mining, chemical work, steel cutlery grinding, railroad brake tending, factory machine operating and matchmaking, would require rapid recruiting, because in about each twenty-seven years they would all be dead; while the same sized state with a population of a million farmers would not be void until the close of their generation of sixty-five years. To keep this population of a million good for sixty-five years would, if composed of the short-lived workers, require nearly three million souls. The student of these very important social phenomena will naturally at first thought, imagine that, so far as the real numerical comparison is concerned, it is of but small importance because the farmers are so much more numerous. Not so. It requires nearly three representatives of the short-lived employments to be equivalent to one farmer, estimating any given time, say, the agriculturist's generation of sixty-five years. It requires, on the other hand, vast numbers to furnish all the working force for the great industry of these short-lived professions, when trebled, to make up the roll of mortality; and should we include the soldiers of the world, it would be a number not behind that of the agriculturists.

We must here, however, acknowledge to an error in fairness if we reckon in the soldiers, since they are to be placed in the list of professions repudiated by the future state. They are nevertheless unfortunately here, and are considered by holders of property as necessary. But outside of them our general reasons are most logical for contrasting the farmers who represent the highest average among those performing manual labor with the five very short-lived tradesmen, of whom the grand average does not exceed twenty-seven years.

We shall in our arraignment, call up a question of the

responsibility of society for this terrible disparity; and shall in proper place, make bold to prefer charges against the institutions which have the inherent evils to make these misfortunes possible.

From a high antiquity the quicksilver mines of Spain were worked by convicts. In this case, although a great cruelty there appears some excuse for society. They are supposed to have committed crimes against it and thus to have forfeited all claims for protection. Even this was protested against by the ancient historians as a fact replete with horrors. Men shuddered at contemplating such inhumanities. But society, it is claimed, has grown so sensitive, so enlightened, so pure that it can no longer tolerate the arbitrary forcing of convicts to submit themselves to dangers and to the sickness that attend the mining and smelting of the ores of mercury. Yet that same society allows free men to labor there and become infected and sink into the grave at the early age of twenty-six years! The state that owns these mines is willing to let them out to such heartless contractors as the Rothschilds and other banking corporations, who soullessly take advantage of the squeeze into which human labor is being cornered and crammed, and by shutting off all the other factors of chance, drive them to a pestilential death after only eight years of service. Society looks upon the scene and refuses to provide that these millionaire contractors shall supply the mines with air pumps and other provisions for preserving health. The same that is said of the quicksilver mines may be repeated of the chemical works, the matchmaker's shops and all through the list of the short-lived trades. They are every one of them impeachable faults springing out of human ignorance and apathy and directly chargeable to institutions.

After the judges and justices in the order of average ages, come the military and naval commanders, together

the same status good. To people with, say a million inhabitants, a state whose industries were exclusively those of quicksilver mining, chemical work, steel cutlery grinding, railroad brake tending, factory machine operating and matchmaking, would require rapid recruiting, because in about each twenty-seven years they would all be dead; while the same sized state with a population of a million farmers would not be void until the close of their generation of sixty-five years. To keep this population of a million good for sixty-five years would, if composed of the short-lived workers, require nearly three million souls. The student of these very important social phenomena will naturally at first thought, imagine that, so far as the real numerical comparison is concerned, it is of but small importance because the farmers are so much more numerous. Not so. It requires nearly three representatives of the short-lived employments to be equivalent to one farmer, estimating any given time, say, the agriculturist's generation of sixty-five years. It requires, on the other hand, vast numbers to furnish all the working force for the great industry of these short-lived professions, when trebled, to make up the roll of mortality; and should we include the soldiers of the world, it would be a number not behind that of the agriculturists.

We must here, however, acknowledge to an error in fairness if we reckon in the soldiers, since they are to be placed in the list of professions repudiated by the future state. They are nevertheless unfortunately here, and are considered by holders of property as necessary. But outside of them our general reasons are most logical for contrasting the farmers who represent the highest average among those performing manual labor with the five very short-lived tradesmen, of whom the grand average does not exceed twenty-seven years.

We shall in our arraignment, call up a question of the

responsibility of society for this terrible disparity; and shall in proper place, make bold to prefer charges against the institutions which have the inherent evils to make these misfortunes possible.

From a high antiquity the quicksilver mines of Spain were worked by convicts. In this case, although a great cruelty there appears some excuse for society. They are supposed to have committed crimes against it and thus to have forfeited all claims for protection. Even this was protested against by the ancient historians as a fact replete with horrors. Men shuddered at contemplating such inhumanities. But society, it is claimed, has grown so sensitive, so enlightened, so pure that it can no longer tolerate the arbitrary forcing of convicts to submit themselves to dangers and to the sickness that attend the mining and smelting of the ores of mercury. Yet that same society allows free men to labor there and become infected and sink into the grave at the early age of twenty-six years! The state that owns these mines is willing to let them out to such heartless contractors as the Rothschilds and other banking corporations, who soullessly take advantage of the squeeze into which human labor is being cornered and crammed, and by shutting off all the other factors of chance, drive them to a pestilential death after only eight years of service. Society looks upon the scene and refuses to provide that these millionaire contractors shall supply the mines with air pumps and other provisions for preserving health. The same that is said of the quicksilver mines may be repeated of the chemical works, the matchmaker's shops and all through the list of the short-lived trades. They are every one of them impeachable faults springing out of human ignorance and apathy and directly chargeable to institutions.

After the judges and justices in the order of average ages, come the military and naval commanders, together

with a large retinue of under officers on land and sea. The vicissitudes of their profession, subject as they are to be arbitrarily changed and their establishments broken up, together with perils of conflict in time of war, greatly reduce the years of their lifetime. The most reliable statements at command place their average at sixty years for the current century which may be considered the threshold of the forth-coming peace period. As of the gentlemen so of the commanders; and the true sociologist asks: "What are they good for?" They are paired with their soldiers, a congruous contrast with some of our other showings. The commanders and soldiers stand in relation to each other as monarch and subject; though both are excrescences from economic conditions which are contrary to the first rudiments of enlightened sense. They both belong to the marauding moiety of civilization and are the outcome of an abstract rather than a concrete development of mind. There are two kinds of robbery, that of suasion and that of violence. The former exists by a system of influence and blandishments which takes advantage of the ignorant good nature of public opinion. And what is public opinion? Under competitive conditions it is a fabrication, composed of human gullibility as a principal raw stuff, and of cunning for motive force, with aptitudes or adaptive faculties to give impulse. By maintaining a certain compound of ignorance, prejudice and subserviency, the commanding aptitudes of a small minority find it easy, in the absence of uniform political organization of majorities, to keep labor in a condition of slavery. As the Malthusian law of population is known to be correct for the present system and false for the future one, they employ his system of checks by so managing that a large portion of mankind shall die off by undue exposure in working for them. This is their old and well-known economical method of depleting pop-

ulation. It saves the managing minority the self-accusation of having killed them by violence. The commanding class which has often included kings, lords, favorites and a certain stratum of lucky ones said to have "tumbled to fortune," thus become at once the protégés and murderers of the soldier class ; and now in the decadence of the war period they do it no longer by violence, but by exposure.

In the future and normal society where the claim of nature for equilibrium of strength is honored, the commanders and the soldiers are unknown. Their aptitudes and powers of usefulness which once made them possible differentiate into useful employments still continuing to occupy relative spheres of activity and thus the very characteristics with which they are born and with which, under existing conditions, they practice a severe and internecine potentiality against the human race, are turned to effect in bringing about peace, harmony, long life and good will to man. If the commanders' can now, under their system of warfare and death-doing live out an average generation of sixty years, they may, with the added factors of chance afforded by the altruistic system wherein men forge their swords into plowshares, and change destruction to mutual preservation, arrive at the threshold of the allotted seventy.

The miseries of their poor soldiers are left for our summing up and arraignment of institutions which permit them. While the commanders are allowed to live sixty years, their soldiers are doomed to die at an average of twenty-eight, under all the aggravations which force, severity and exposure can impose; since the commander, if he be a principal, can bivouac himself and his favorite corps of officers upon a distant height, out of range of the rattling shot, and from that eminence, often rock-lined and inaccessible, sweep his glass over the bloody

fields of havoc and free of danger, sending messages forth from his safe retreat, while the common rank and file are tugging in the fierce fray and dropping by hundreds at every charge. If he receive a wound, a dozen select surgeons are instantly on the spot with all the implements of science and skill; while the common soldier is obliged to wait until the smoke and roar of battle clear away, and bleed from his aching gashes unassisted.

In the new system however, though their occupation, like that of their superiors, is gone, they still live. They are rescued from the death-stroke. They accept the offered places where the highest usefulness combines with the highest pleasure, morality and health. From their now lamentable average of twenty-eight years they mount to the pinnacle of the longeval cone; for there is no longer the wherewithal to kill them and there is all that science and nature can group together for preservation and enjoyment.

Another class of long-lived people are the distillers and the dealers in liquors. Singularly enough, the men who grow rich in this healthy and as we have shown, very lucrative business, do not themselves indulge to excess in their own goods. Unlike the fermented beverages, there are in distilled liquors no microbes or animalcules such as swarm in ordinary fluids. As shown in our statistical list, the distillers and those who deal in their products live to an average of fifty-eight years; and their comparative claim on nature to legality in driving the business, is, setting all moral sentiment aside, a just one; since nature honors them with very long life and much prosperity. She offers the distiller no less than thirty-two more years than the quicksilver miner, thirty-one more than the chemical workers, thirty more than railroad brakemen, twenty-nine or thirty more than the mill operative, twenty-six more than the machinist, about nine

years in round numbers more than the average mass of the great trades and professions which are considered healthy, and just one year more than she offers the average thief, burglar, pickpocket and general rogue. His claim, as justified by our delightful society, then, is to just one year more of life's value and joy than is offered the typical thief! Strange to recount that this establishment, blazoned as the model and perfection of civilization, offers a whole year less to the lifetime of its felon class than to the distillers and distributors of merchandise that produces its ornamental drunkards.

Comparing those manually employed with the longest lived intellectual or professional workers, the state statistics show the judges and justices to attain to sixty-four, or about one year less than well-to-do agriculturists. Estimating these from the age of sixteen, their date of entering the study of a profession and they fall to fifty-eight. But we shall follow the regular tables. Thus society justly and kindly offers those who are in the free air, with sufficient to eat, wear, and means wherewith to shield themselves from inclemencies of the weather, a long and guaranteed existence.

According to the state statistics it reaches almost to the maximum of a lifetime; and considering that this is an average and includes the risks of the danger period of infancy in which so many die, it may be set down as satisfactory. Reckoning from the basis of the competitive system it is positive proof of favors which may be expected and counted upon by all who obey the law of nature. Thus in the estimate of longevities we have the maximum which the workingmen may reasonably claim from society.

Next to them in point of old age are the rogues, or the very people whom they judge. It has been carefully estimated that thieves, burglars, confidence swindlers

pickpockets and the large class whose instincts and aptitudes, under our competitive conditions, inspire them to live by their wits rather than by labor, actually evade the hangman and other deadly dangers, so that between good fare when at large, and good food when in prison, they eke out an average of fifty-nine years. We have no statistics of the ages of freebooters, pirates and buccaners who carry on their traffic at sea.

We leave the question of the judges, justices and of the rogues whom they judge and who furnish these men of law with the elements of their prosperous business which yields them so much happiness and such a grand old age. We shall resume it in our final arraignment of conditions that offer the knave class a premium of many years longer life than is allotted to valuable workmen, as their reward for choosing a predatory and destructive profession.

Political government is the true and only organization of labor. The tradesmen whose comparative ages are given in the foregoing figures, are furnished almost without exception with a protective organization, which is supposed to relieve their wants. The machinist has his comparative claim, the weavers theirs, the shoemakers theirs. But having no great and powerful organization like a government, every one is liable to be attacked at any time by an invention, a new and better method, an innovation and an enemy, against which they cannot be provided. The political government, therefore, which has this provision, is the only labor society that can stand out for them in their hour of need. When rightly understood and applied it has the faculties and powers of expedient to come to their rescue in all these dangers. It also possesses the charms of true association. If the lineotype, like a gorgon, approaches from the darkness of the great unknown and opens its devouring jaws to swal-

low up a million of printers whose organization has no power to grasp a member from its teeth, the government nationalizes the monster and assumes the fatherhood of the victims. It calls together the fireside economies. It places the skilled incentives. It presents a mode of relief from every grievance. It touches with a refining influence, all the ennobling impulses and has the power to prevent or rectify every kind of suffering, on the broad principle of scientific legislation. The comparative claim, then, for those organizations of political government instead of the narrower and less powerful ones of workmen in competitive fields, is greatly extended. Under present conditions, many of the tradesmen and professional workers are jealous even of the blind man, the prisoner, tramp and pauper because these might compete with him in the distribution of places, thus jeopardizing their life-means, causing additional worry and reducing the length of their life. Under the system which is possible if the workers are all organized in the greater political government, the cause of this jealousy is reversed; because all being distributed evenly, the more these objects of hatred produce, the shorter will be each one's day's work, the less the worry, and the greater the product and plentitude. Mean jealousies disappear.

On coming to know and understand the premiums in extended leases of life offered by nature and by society to those who are to choose a trade or profession, the earnest demand will set in for an equilibration of normal strength. We therefore, now take up the discussion of the premiums, as they are shown in these statistical investigations.

When scanned in the light of history, the genteel class who live so long and revel so luxuriously without working to produce an equivalent for what they consume, are readily perceived to be a relic of ancient barbarism. Is it

not legitimate to ask by what right this class of people, however respectable, are entitled to live longer than any other in the world? Viewing this question then, from a standpoint of natural law the answer comes with scarcely a moment's hesitation, that they have. Nature never asks questions regarding the moral law regulating what we call justice. She has established certain penalties against rupturing her own physical rules. It is the gentlemen who least rupture these rules and it is they, consequently, who longest survive. It therefore follows that it is not the class of persons living without rupturing the natural law, who deserve blame; on the contrary, under this law, they must be pronounced superior. Strange as it may appear, this obedience to rule may consistently be complied with if the recipient of the bounty obey the rule; and he may look on and behold and even instigate atrocities which decimate the numbers of his neighbors, causing widespread agonies such as transcend our power of portrayal.

The eagle, endowed with swift wing and strong muscle may be figured as the gentleman-aristocrat of the feathered tribe. It is to him no drudging labor to swirl and gyrate over the little innocent that is to fall his toothsome victim, and when with keen eye and an unerring swoop he seizes and bears the struggling creature away to the crags it is rather a sport than a labor. All men regard him with respect and admiration, while nature recognizes him as fittest to survive, though he causes untold agonies and deaths never to be charged against him. In payment for all this freebooter's fierce and remorseless depredations he is awarded a long hundred years of life. Who blames the eagle?

It is therefore clearly not the fault of those who live long and happily; for nature has neither sentiment nor conscience. She knows no remorse; and this fact should

be closely considered by both the moralists and political economists, since it exonerates those who are too often hated, accused, and imagined to have more than they deserve. Here is not where reform should begin. The fault is in the conditions which prevail in what is called human society. The reason then, why the gentlemen class are called by some dissatisfied people a relic of barbarism is, that society remains barbarous enough to still hold their places open. Nature rewards them when they jump in and enjoy. By those unfavored with a philosophical mind they are sometimes called legalized highwaymen but this is unjust. Many are educated and refined. They are upheld by public opinion and by the law of physics governing the competitive system. They with impunity can set themselves apart as an exquisite and superior element of communities, who have politely grasped up more than their share of that which other men have made.

As the world grows older and wiser, public opinion rises. When it was low the question did not arise as to the justice or injustice of these things. It indeed required a remarkable leap from the former mental condition that rested upon an immemorial acquiescence in the ancient law of primogeniture, to dislodge human notions from their contentment with the horrors of this great wrong. Between the gentry and the workers, the large class of the uninterruptedly joyous and the lesser one of short-lived pleasure makers where the difference is twen-four years, there now slowly stalks forth an umpire with a fixed judgment to arraign, not the happy ones, but the conditions which make and unmake happiness. We do not uphold either; we are inquiring into the causes of wrong. Knowledge is respectable. Nobody will longer deny it. As knowledge comes to men they are enlightened to see and study that which they are not known to

have done in great numbers before. Isolated individuals have protested numberless times. But this had little permanent effect. The permanent effect remains to be made by a massed opinion emerging from general knowledge. When knowledge, therefore, discerns these wrongs and protests against them, it is respectable. It follows therefore, that if a vast political party arises out of this knowledge and publishes forth a propaganda against conditions that tolerate the horrors of this inequality of average ages among mankind setting up principles which when carried out, produce revolution and overthrow of such conditions, that it is perfectly just and respectable.

Belonging to the great party that has obtained this knowledge, we arraign as guilty the society based upon principles which diminish the life of one to a less average than is awarded another. We call for a change in society by which the obstacles to the free flow of life and happiness shall be removed. We most conscientiously set forth the principles of a great industrial party that should rise in protest against these wrongs. We call upon all, whether the workers in the ranks of the trades, the thousands in the professions, or even those in the enjoyment of higher bounties, to throw off their conservatism and coldness and join the ever increasing numbers and with dispassionateness and truth arouse the nations and their victims to the adoption of correct measures of relief.

In the second count of our indictment we have agriculture which is one of the largest, most respectable and indispensable occupations. Its workmen outlive all others by years. Agreeably to our system of pairing we now study the premiums in comforts and long life conferred upon them by society, in contrast with the quicksilver miners, brakemen, matchmakers, chemical workers, steel grinders, a certain class of operatives, and the black-

lead workers, whose grand average of but twenty-seven, is the lowest of the true workers. The average difference between the former and the latter of these two large classes is thirty-eight years. The farmer lives nearly three times as long as the latter class. Besides this, farmers enjoy life better. They exist in the open world, have free access to the out of door air, are not continually overworked, have good schooling, an agreeable social intercourse, and a large part of the year is to them often a season of recreation.

The short-lived occupations, however, are deprived of these luxuries. The moral atmosphere in which they exist is as unhealthy as their working conditions. Their punishment for working under these conditions is continuous long days of labor and a deprivation of education, of almost all social respectability, of wages sufficient to procure proper food, and finally of forty-three years less than their three-score and ten, and thirty-eight less than is awarded the farmers who do not work so hard.

Now let us suppose that all, without exception, were educated before entering the calling of their choice, so that they might know these facts and be aware beforehand of the advantages offered to one and the fatal consequences threatening the other, before choosing. The results, notwithstanding the terrors which glare in these statistics, would still remain nearly the same, so long as the present competitive conditions remain. The fact is, these people rush into any place they can find, regardless of consequences, obeying the law which furnishes starving men any of the factors of chance. Under this system the world is filled with the unemployed. It is shrewd policy of its managers to have a vast element of idle workmen, like a standing army, ever equipped and ready to compete against their fellow workmen in times of strikes and labor turmoils, or if need be, when they determine

to spring a war. Whenever business rulers see an opening they know how to corner opportunities into a systematic squeeze, and with a plethora of bidders and a constant threat of discharge, the victims are intimidated or hoodwinked out of their normal senses, and will tenaciously remain, if permitted, up to the close of their short and miserable lives. The demand, therefore, for an equilibrium of strength and age, according to the law of nature, cannot be realized under the competitive system.

If these sufferers understood the science of political economy which concentrates all their moral and numerical force in a political organization of government so that they might exert complete unanimity of their power, the education alluded to would soon make them able to understand and explain its arguments and the management of the competitive system would be overthrown. The government would refuse to contract its mines to great bankers; would itself take charge of the quicksilver industry, institute life preserving apparatus and follow with exactness the laws of health.

Our description in the foregoing chapter of an arrangement in society by which all these dangerous industries may be made safe when conducted by society under a system of traveling transfers and change from one place to another at choice and free will, plainly shows that a wise combination of ownership by society, with science in mining and health, would soon eliminate the workman's contact with dangers and also greatly increase the production; and society would save itself the humiliation of being accused of wilful murder.

We arraign the institutions which hold up offers of thirty-eight more years of life to cultivators than to these miners and other short-lived men of business. On this second count of the indictment we claim that we have a clear case of the guilt of murder. Our first charge is that



of hypocrisy. These same institutions, worked by the same competitive system, maintain criminal laws which inflict death or the blotting out from their rolls, of any person found guilty of committing the crime of murder against his fellow; yet they themselves maintain, and strenuously, and with armed force, uphold and defend a systematic commission of cold blooded murders in the interest of a few millionaire bankers—murders that nearly extinguish three generations of a large class of the very most useful working people of the world, during the time that nature is lengthening the generation of another and useful set of workers, the farmers. To this charge of criminal hypocrisy and partiality is to be added that of blasphemy. The great Director of natural order holds up the former class as a beacon light, which blazes forth to the world the promise of long life and protracted happiness. Men have by no means been unacquainted with its inviting glow. Tables of statistics show these truths in frightful contrast with figures chronicling the hideous death-rate of their neighbors. The colleges and common schools teach the horrible assurance of unavoidable decimation of those who choose the downward road leading to destruction; and while society with her police, sheriffs and detectives, even sometimes with bloodhounds, starts out on the trail of less culpable criminals than she, we find her hypocritically religionizing with te deums, and proselyting to reclaim the credulous from some post-mundane terror, while intriguing with bribing bankers and managers of wealth to perpetuate without debate a systematic series of atrocities more baleful against life than could be plotted by the direst fiend against her criminal statutes. The great moral law of nature is thus warped and blasphemed against by a hypocritical pretense which cannot but prove her guilt so soon as the people recognize political government as the natural and unique organization of labor.

We arraign the conditions which permit a possibility of this wrong, for wilful neglect. This also, is a punishable crime. It requires but little trouble, if there were the least sympathy, or disposition to right a wrong, to establish regulations which would render it impossible for mine contractors, mill owners, railroad managers, telegraph companies and others to kill off their workmen at the revolting rate found by statistical investigations to prevail among them. They care nothing for human life. Mammon is the only god they consult and he is a minotaur, who, to glut a capricious greed, goads and tramples the creatures that bring him gold.

There is slowly being penned in the lurid inks of this ghoulish evidence a colossal writ, which, when the world is ready, and society stands a blanching culprit charged with the various counts in our indictment, will find her overwhelmingly guilty; and justice at that awful trial will be swift to apply the same retribution she herself forever uses in blotting out the existence of her criminals. Justice will stamp out these perilous conditions as on a gibbet and blot their last foul emblazoning from her soiled escutcheon.

With the system of mutuality established, it will be easy to conceive of a general lengthening of life all along the line. It is perfectly possible for science to arrange the industrial conditions so that one kind of labor will yield as many years of sojourn as another. It is perfectly possible to purify and equalize the methods in mining, in chemical works or in machines and railroads, so that men will survive, unpoisoned by vapors, and unmangled by jamming accidents as well as unwearied by the drear of protracted drudgery and there shall be nothing to kill them. When the conditions are thus adjusted, men will live as long in one occupation as another. The further study will be to extend the average life of mankind from

the biblical three-score and ten to the prophetic hundred of the savants. Should this be achieved, the poor quicksilver miner's period of years will be well-nigh multiplied by four instead of three and his promise will be four happy lives where but one is now to be expected. There are, under the conscienceless competitive system, nearly four generations, to one for the future one. Even as it is, there are nearly three generations of quicksilver miners to one of farmers. Any radical agitation to enforce these mighty changes, must be perfectly germane to both humanity and science ; and it will be regarded by honest thinkers, on studying this presentation of the almost indescribable cruelties now so unscrupulously sweeping away the generations, as far more respectable and with much less terror than is now conceded by those conservative elements who are loud in protest against any socialistic innovation upon society.

We arraign on the third count, as too guilty to exist, a condition of things that causes soldiers to die at twenty-eight while their commanders are allowed to live and enjoy a life of sixty years. It is true that in a normal condition of society where the mind is in the full enjoyment of a high development of reason, and competitive conditions give place to higher things, there will be no fighting and no soldiers ; but existing as they do, we will protest against their premature murder, in advance of such millennial epoch.

Why should the commanders live thirty-two years longer than their soldiers? What a fearful disproportion ! Supposing the opinions of Zeno and Strabo afterwards urged by Descartes and Pascal, to be true that the world is a living, thinking being, then, society is responsible for this discrepancy ; and as we hold that it is a wrong, it is the existing conditions, the society, the political economy by which the wrong is possible that ought to be ac-

cused and placed on trial. If society is a living, intelligent, responsible creature it can be called to account for a wrong as well as an individual. Should a monarch presiding over a nation of people, issue an edict ordaining that the commanders of the forces who stand guard as his protectors be treated with such tenderness, shielded from exposure to dangers and nursed with such care that life might continue to linger up to extreme age, while his soldiers were to be cruelly put to death at an age of twenty-eight years, there would immediately arise a protest from all the outstanding nations, from institutions of benevolence, from the soldiers themselves, accusing him as a monster and demanding his dethronement. It would cause a lively convulsion in the enlightened sympathies of all mankind. As the executions took place, as the heads of the innocents dropped into the gory basket and the recruiting drafts followed in quick succession, humanity would look on with horror and amazement; and when the excitement warmed to the point of ebullition it would burst forth like a volcano and cause a revolution. The monarch would be dethroned, and his name would sink in infamy.

Yet this is exactly the death-work that is now going on. Society is this monarch who is constantly ordering and consummating the execution of soldiers all over the world, while their commanders are taken such tender care of that they reach the high average of sixty and perhaps more years. As the great military powers are located in all parts of the world, the missionary work against these atrocities cannot be confined to the American republic, nor to the czarism of the Russias, nor to ignorant men of tropical continents nor to the cannibals of the ocean isles. The movement must be world-wide against this cruelty which is imposed by hideous conditions of the competitive system—conditions which nature will forever con-

tinue to sanction and execute so long as competitive turmoils remain. It is the rising good sense of humanity everywhere that must rebel.

A general protest against this wholesale slaughter of masses and this partiality to a few is worthy of an effort. But it cannot logically begin with property owners, nor the money power, nor with legislators elected to protect monarchs and corporations. This radical wrong should be thoroughly studied and learned. It must begin with the victims and all other congenial classes—the trades unions, the labor lyceums, the public schools, the social-democratic political powers and the new political propaganda. It is the victim who should save himself. Protest must follow protest and be endorsed and published by every convention of the victim class. War and its standing armies should be condemned. Fighting which has ever to be done by soldiers taken from the laboring ranks because of their superior strength, must be agitated against and fierce counter-wars of ideas must kindle and rage. The arguments will all be useful as building material for the final structure of political economy upon which coming institutions shall be based.

We arraign in the fourth count, on grounds of pernicious partiality, a system of society that coolly permits distillers to live undisturbed by disease and exempt from dangers up to the average life of fifty-eight years, plying a lucrative work of creating their goods while upholding an inebriate-making system with its almost innumerable allies of every shade, located in town and country. They number millions. They send out their buyers, who procure the cereals, while others grind, distil, refine, barrel, bottle, store in bonded warehouses and sell over countless counters to their victims. They can, while but children, safely calculate on living up to the golden age of nearly sixty years with the hope of reaching ninety or a

hundred. They are upheld by the conditions of society everywhere. The law of nature upholds them in it, since it is a healthy business. There are no malaria breeding infusoria in their commodities. In whatever department they are, the odors of distilled liquors are pure and conducive to health and age, and the liquors themselves are medicinal when not used to excess.

Yet all the world knows that this merchandise is killing off the human race, ruining homes, robbing the foundations of social happiness and laying an embargo on development of institutions. It is the strongest lever power in the hands of political schemers, of ambitious adventurers and of the money power.

Is it just that while those of the distillers' trades live so long, thirty useful trades and professions whose honest toilers do work which society cannot possibly dispense with, and which involves twenty times their numbers, should fall victims of their callings at an average of forty four years?

This outrageous disparity between fifty-eight and forty four years, which is taught us by statistical tables, to exist between the representatives of the business in distilled liquors and those of thirty of our indispensable industries that fill up the gap between the lowest and the highest averages, figures at fourteen years. A young man on leaving school, looks about him for a choice of a trade or a profession. If he fancies that of the machinist he consults the statistical lists and is shown the shocking truth that if he learns this trade his chances are to live only to the age of thirty-two years. He is but sixteen years old and the short sixteen that would be left him, present an offer in the equation of probabilities that is appalling. If he leans in the direction of becoming a shoemaker, the same statistical table points warningly with bony finger, to the hideous record billed "thirty-seven" upon its tag of

tatters. If he would be a carpenter the tag holds out the tempting hope of reaching fifty. The blackboard contains a list of thirty trades. They foot up a grand average of but thirty-nine years with the chances against them. But when his eye strikes the professions attached to the distilling business he sees more pay, more play for his wit, more hope extended to his adaptive faculties, and finally a nineteen years extension of his factors of chance for a long lifetime. The society he lives in holds out to him as one of the conditions of choosing a business which makes insidious warfare and deals decoy, allurements and death to his neighbors and to humanity, that he shall live to the ripe age of at least fifty-eight years and twelve or thirteen more than it can offer him if he choose to become a glassblower, shoemaker or machinist.

Now there is wrong here but who is to blame? You cannot blame the man who chooses that which presents to him the best comparative claim. He has obeyed nature in his selection of the factors of chance. You cannot blame nature herself. Her rules are based upon the law of physics which is immutable. The blame rests with you yourself, fellow citizen, for permitting, century after century, a condition of things which compels nature to be thus partial and cruel in order to enforce her law. Under the prevailing conditions she cannot do otherwise. Her rules must be enforced.

On our fifth and last count we arraign the condition of things which makes it possible for judges and justices to live on with uninterrupted health to the advanced average of sixty-four years, while the criminals whom they call to account are allowed to reach an almost similar harvest of fifty-nine. It is a spectacle of judge and culprit both fed at society's crib and paid the same bounty. The charge is the more criminal as statistics reveal thirty others of the most valuable and indispensable trades of

workmen doing service for society, who are cut off at a wretched average of forty-five. We call for the arrest and indictment of these guilty conditions and their trial in a court of crimes. These crimes are not unknown. Their discussion is not new. The remedy is old. Plato's most remarkable act was the culling of arguments from the long-time experience of these same lowly tradesmen of the Piræus, for use by him as the basis of his republic. He afterwards used the information for his laws; and we have hitherto shown how the rigid mind of Socrates, with a burly dialectics and an incontrovertible power, rasped away the rougher obstacles and pruned the youthful twigs of opposition until all engaged in that memorable colloquy unanimously agreed to throw aside the whole competitive web that falsifies society, and take on the warm mantle of socialism wherein all things were to be had in common. This was the Platonic catholicon that may yet be applied to all the evils which we arraign this great thing called society for committing. When afterwards a still lowlier workman left his legacy wherein all things were had in common, the structure of a modern world was thereby hewn out in the rough; and if the edifice itself is still unfinished it is because the workmen have not carried out their directions.

Before defining the points on which the charges in this count are founded, it might be well to outline the reserve power or the storage capacity of the remedy that lies concealed in the model. It has already been explained that the competitive system lacks the quality of storing good. In it all things go to waste. A competing individual like Mr. A. T. Stewart, may have great business aptitudes, by which he is able to build up a system of business operations which, so long as they lie within the grasp of that one mind, produce fruits which are astonishing. So soon however, as he dies, the business, with

ll the valuable lessons it ought to transmit to an intelligent and studious society, falls worthless into ruin and oblivion. The secret index to its success is in the tomb. The business mystery which made it a wonder and a value was not stored. It was individualistic and competitive. It perished with his corporeal life. Death robbed the world of his inspiring genius. Without the storage power of socialism this is what becomes of the products of the great bulk of ingenious men. Some of them have no power of storage in books, discoveries and inventions and in consequence, inventive and literary genius remains in a far better state of preservation. But that which society most needs is the product of genius which works out the methods of successful business and the power of imparting it to institutions; and it is this which society lacks. Sometimes, though rarely, these aptitudes transmit themselves by succession to the family. Here they are hoarded rather than stored and used in aiggardly manner by vain and pompous persons for a few generations. When stored in families by the law of entailment and heirship they almost invariably become a nuisance. They are worthless almost without exception, unless stored in society to be used in common. This virtue in collectivism is one of the points seen in the remarkable discussion at the Piræus which determined the political economists so familiar in classics, to boldly strike for that agglomerative principle which transmits all good things to the capacious storehouse of communism to be conserved in perpetuity and ever ready. Governments are following this unerring precept in the postal system to-day. In this institution every thing good that is invented or suggested, is adopted when found to be an improvement, and permanently stored. This is the beautiful work of scientific socialism. It is destined to ramify through every department of business until neither the

judges and justices nor the rascals they judge shall have a function left.

We claim a right and duty to find serious fault with this continuance of individualism, an outcome of which is the great wrong coming under this last count. Here is presented a strange anomaly. It assumes the shape of a set of law officers who live to the high age of sixty-four years, in the constant use of their profession which consists in trying, judging, and dispensing punishments to law-breakers of all sorts, including thieves, pickpockets, confidence swindlers, burglars and sneaks, who are found to live up to an average of fifty-nine years, or almost as long as the honorable court that tries them. But what makes this medley seem more incongruous is the fact that the institution used by both of them in the trial, is that of socialism, which is a function of the commonwealth. It is the people against whom some wrong has been committed, and the suit is theirs. In their defense they have their commonwealth attorney. The judge himself is their chosen employé and it is therefore they who furnish him his salary.

Thus we behold the spectacle of a society arresting and punishing rogues on the one hand, and on the other, offering them in part payment for their evil doings, within five years of as high an average life as it gives the well-kept justice who presides over their trial. It offers crime fourteen years more of life's continuance than it gives the people in thirty great trades doing the world's most useful work; and thirty-two years more than it offers the quicksilver miners, brakemen, chemical workers and others performing necessary but dangerous business of society. We charge that this is a bounty and a bribe, ruinously luring our genius toward crime. We charge that there is monstrous abuse in a society which at one stroke, offers decoying premiums to induce the develop-

ment and enlistment of human aptitudes to nefarious and predatory deeds. The justice of this charge is fortified by the spectacle of a victimized society defraying the expenses while enduring the humiliation of bringing such rogues to justice.

An observation of the records reveals the still more strikingly terrorizing fact that a very large number of these criminals are educated persons. They come from the universities, the high schools, the common schools, and are taught the lesson, not openly in the curriculum of instruction, but through pernicious indirection. They learn it in a general way, obliquely. Coming in contact with sources of this information, they are attracted to its contemplation and study. To many young minds the arithmetic of crime has much attraction. There is just enough romance in it to pull upon the daring proclivities of many a whimling. Then there is usually mixed in misdemeanor a chivalry which embryonic imagination inflates and distends even to the condoning of guilt. The great turmoils of the industrial movement, misunderstood and criminally warped by its enemies, may likewise, sometimes work a chanticleer-like influence by showing fight, and a flapping defiance against muskets and starvation.

Worse than all this, the new doctrines in Darwinian physics which they have heard of but cannot grasp, appease the conscience and excuse the heinousness of crime. These doctrines tell them, or at least they think so, that there is no crime in a successful action committed as a result of cold reason. Nature urges and prompts them to this by rewarding them with a premium of fourteen years of life's chance if they choose a criminal profession, over and above the reward she offers the innocent tradesmen. The new philosophy has refined this idea into a popular theory and actually caused it to prevail among the great universities, not as a dogma but as a fact in

physics. Conscience is therefore ruled out. The reward goes to him who survives. The fittest to survive wins it. He pushes this study to its logical end and inflates himself with the idea that he may win. He discovers that there are criminals so shrewd, so alert, so skillful that they are never detected; and imagines therefore, that they are all about him like invisible dæmons, whom he may seek and approach. Nature to him is God and crime is virtue to be well paid, so long as its perpetrators are undetected. He stakes his chances on the egotism of his smartness. The law of fitness knows no conscience and the old sting of inward compunction is banished. As a consequence the longing is whetted to pick out and organize a band of collaborators who, in social compact, taking advantage of the self-same method of collective power that is growing above and about him in the open labor world, can furnish co-operative aid in case of trouble. Thus with danger of detection reduced, with a conscience exempt from the snags of guilt, with a golden offer held up before him of fifty-eight years in the chance of comparative claims, and with inborn aptitudes and adaptive faculties, all urging his inclinations, is there any wonder that the rogues are growing up around and amidst us by scores and thousands? Is there any marvel left that rippers, slashers, sneak-thieves, and confidence swindlers are stalking invisibly in our streets, concocting the jobs by day that are dispatched by night, at the expense of an innocent public? The difficulty of solving this question is reduced every year in proportion as conscience and religion are ruled out by the approaching iron-clad law of survival. He can reason all this out under competition, through which the logical inference is drawn that there is no crime where there is no rupture of nature's law.

This whole web of reasoning is a ghastly offspring of competition. The great and good beings we have refer-

red to, understood it clearly. They therefore threw it away. Mr. Darwin knew that progress in society could go but little farther under guidance of the human mind chained down to competitions; and he acknowledged that this basis was fit only for an abstract form of reason. It could not furnish a play-ground for the future collective or concrete form which he himself foresaw.

Let us now contemplate the spectacle of a condition of things existing in society from century to century without protest, which holds up to criminals a tempting premium of fourteen years more of life than it offers, in the grand average, to thirty great trades at work supplying the principal necessities, agricultural products excepted, for humanity. As we have heretofore seen, it offers to these rogues and plotters against itself, a bounty of thirty-two years over and above the average lifetime allotted to quicksilver miners, chemical workers, soldiers, railroad brakemen and many other short-lived trades doing necessary duty for mankind. What a spectacle in human economies! What a satire on gratitude and decency! What a ridiculous record of political economy and social science! Especially is this discrepancy shown to be outrageous when we open our eyes to the fact that great and increasing numbers of our youth, born with brilliant talents, are, by the presentation of statistics of these facts, being drawn into the irresistibly tempting whirlpools of crime. Dime novels below, grave statistics above, natural aptitudes and prurient proclivities within, are urging and emboldening the spirit of adventure and trailing them in countless troops the land over; and as the chances of wide adventure become exhausted, as the fields of exploration and invention close up and great openings are taken, while the aspirants to fill them steadily increase, no compensating change comes over the methods of our institutions. As a matter of course, a

rush is made by the aptitudes to fill the lesser loopholes with a lower sort of adventurers—eventually of pillage; and we are awakened and appalled by constantly increasing news of train robbers, horse-thieves, forgers and bunco steerers at our wayside angles and pocket-gulfs, in city dives as well as in frescoed parlors, while the nations are paralyzed with darker deeds in bomb-throwing and stock-gambling; and legislatures outstrip all former records in bribery and treason.

The cause of it all is that honest labor has no chance left for the free realization of its rights in the scale of comparative claims. Nor can it ever have this under competitions; for it is gradually and most naturally losing its foothold, as opportunities are narrowed down with the growth of population. If then, the time has come when society offers a high and alluring bounty of fourteen extra years to him or her who will choose the repulsive paths of crime, it is high time that those of its members in whose breasts there yet lingers a spark of honor, shall enroll themselves in true membership of the political organization, their natural association, and call a halt to this havoc of competitive conditions, though it involve their overthrow and extinction.

We arraign these wrongs in this fifth and final count of our indictment. A society or community of wolves or vultures that instinctively combine to smell out and run down their food is admitted to be within the law of competitions. A primitive association of human beings who lived by plunder thousands of years ago, in the absence of mechanics and other sources of refinement that grace this civilization, may also be excused for acts of pillaging bands. The lions, tigers and hyenas commit no crime against law or conscience. But all these are mere brutes without ethical restrictions or moral consciousness. They are not in the realm of reason or hardly of thought.

They have no end to subserve but that of appetite and perpetuation of species. Can the same be said of society in this enlightened age? A great illumination has come over the world, mostly due to mechanics, which is causing almost complete revolution in the methods and morals of society. This is genuine, permanent progress; and it has shown men how to change nearly everything for the better in the *modus operandi* of life. Men no longer travel as they did during the ages of legalized brigands and kidnapers; nor do they receive instruction in the same way. They communicate by electricity instead of the slow-going horse. The wretched treadmill, mule and windmill have retired in favor of the steam, the turbine and electric motors. The lazy dilligence has disappeared in compliment to the coach of the iron ways. The sword has subsided yielding place for projectiles. Science is dispelling ignorance. Superstition retreats before the approaching tread of positive knowledge and socialism is rapping with unmistakable signals at the door of political economy.

Yet not an iota of progress is to be found in the adjustments of labor, looking to the extension of the normal age of tradesmen; not one notch has been cut in the tally-stick of the toilers' comparative claims. The thirty trades whose labor three or four thousand years ago supplied humanity with the necessities of life lived as long as they do now. The grandees and gentry who reveled on the product of their efforts lived on unhindered to the same sublime maximum as now. There can be traced no real change which corresponds with the marvelous strides of society in all the other branches.

Why then, do not the economic conditions keep pace with the growth of other things? There must be a great wrong somewhere. Ricardo, Bastiat, Carey and Spencer demand that we let this question alone; and they are

eloquent in their avowal that all is working splendidly in line with free competitions on which true political economy is based. In answer we retort with our new questions: Is it just that a premium of far higher value than gold should be offered the common thief by as great and respectable a power as public opinion? Is a competitive condition of society just, that murders the makers of the world's needful things, some at a half and some at a two-thirds completion of their allotted length of life? Is it just, that a competitive system should continue which drags our brilliant aptitudes and powers of adaptation into a maelstrom of crime by holding forth the promise of longevity in this seductive lottery of averages which glare and mock and darkle in statistics? Finally is it possible for a social, a politico-economic, or a moral system to be right that is based upon competitive conditions which produce and uphold wrong?

It is clear that nothing but a cold negation can answer these questions. It is clear that there is guilt enwrapped in such appalling records of omission and commission; and justice cries aloud for its trial and judgment, even though it involve revolution. No such a condition, competitive or otherwise, deserves to stand.

Stored away like diamonds in the rocks of ages there are elements, historical, archæological, legal, politico-economic and religious, which faintly reveal to our opening sense, by a light that is dimmed by prejudice and egotism, a system of management for society, to adopt which, like Plato and Socrates of old, throws away this savage competition entirely. Justice calls with a small but growing voice for a resurrection from the bone-pits of a money power, of that sacred Act by which men once "had all things common." Desperate has been the struggle to hide from view all evidences of this communal brotherhood of man, and the money changers are

hard to cast out; but their time is surely approaching. The competitive system is one of waste, treachery and ingratitude. Its record is that of bolstering the few and favored of fortune who are gifted with wealth or aptitudes, and the stamping and crushing under multiform despotism, of slaves whom it uses in self-aggrandizement. It is too sordid and earthy to be stored as a monument of institutions that never die, and it has few records but those of blood and boast and perishability.

But in the collective socialism now growing in theory and in practice there are elements which possess the power of transmitting themselves and of storing away their record for future use. It has already commenced to test its virtues through the modern political barometer, the periodical elections. This powerful instrument of progress, though used by ancient men may be considered modern because it has hitherto been cramped and its uses circumscribed by plutocratic tyranny. It is at last beginning to be used by the masses of humanity. It has shown its power in several of the great nations and is growing in purity year by year. By dint of the inward struggle and the general education of the masses, prong after prong of the errors which have so long contaminated and ruined the force of the free ballot have disappeared and it is at last beginning to prove itself a power both pure and incorruptible.

Life to all men, as all must acknowledge, is the true and most desirable remuneration as well as the most precious boon demanded by human beings. It is a dismal method of society that accords the least of life to the hardest worked and all this to the most useful workers producing the most indispensable necessities for human existence. But when men shall at last unveil their eyes to a vision of the highest life and joy and happiness bequeathed to those who are worthless, and contemplate

that even professional commanders of destruction like the artful criminals, do-nothings and drones, are upheld by institutions as well as by nature under this law of competitive rule, they must awaken to a quickened consciousness that it is high time to organize on Aristotle's ennobling and powerful precept that man is by nature a political being. It is time that man should broaden his sphere. He must strike collectively for the overthrow and abolishment of conditions which uphold this revolting spectacle of the honest workmen denied their comparative claims.

We have endeavored from the beginning of this work, to present an analysis of human society. The failure which the great competitive system as a basis of government has shown itself to be, led us to a close dissection of mind which revealed the fact that however perfect the law of competition may be in the reasonless realms, it is not fit for, and can never lead to, that perfection which shall satisfactorily adjust itself to pure, unmasked reason. The more we penetrate this important problem, the more clearly we see that the solution is only possible by organizing the mind and bringing its mighty powers to accept the humble law of nature. As the body of any living thing is composed of a multitude of parts, each fixed in place in its corporeal workshop, and harmoniously busy for the general good, so the multitudinous aptitudes and adaptive faculties of men must cease their destructive competition and learn to work with the same communion of interests. The only trouble found, after ridding ourselves of prejudice and ignorance, is definitively this: that in the former, nature herself takes the helm of management and assumes complete control; while in the latter, mind must grow so strong that the old, isolated abstract may become purified and refined into the concrete reason. Mind will then control.

To attempt this while the masses are unorganized and apart, as individuals, or segregated as in non-political, self-dependent societies, must result in society still continuing what it has ever proved to be—a failure.

In many places this fatal error has been detected. The individual and society are now awakening to understand that there is in reality but one organization clothed with power of complete success and that is the political organization of government. When political government assumes the unique organization, absorbing both the isolated individual and the segregated society into a great business-like universality of mutual help and progress, then mind shall have emerged from the abstract and assumed its cognate forms; the political government shall have absorbed both the individual and the union and the equilibration of human aptitudes is achieved.

The power of the ballot, that great fulcrum of human destiny is at length in the hands of the people. Their government is the seat of their natural organization. The principles through which that ballot and lever power is to work are at last known and acknowledged. They stand out boldly at the command of a glorious destiny and the world begins to move.



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